

Encyclopedia of Korean Folklore and Traditional Culture Vol. V
ENCYCLOPEDIA OF
KOREAN FOLK GAMES



한국민속대백과사전 V
한국민속놀이사전

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ENCYCLOPEDIA OF KOREAN FOLK GAMES

Foreword

Interest in intangible cultural heritage is greater than it has ever been before. UNESCO continues to produce a list of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity to safeguard and preserve the invaluable traditional cultural heritage of communities around the world. In the midst of such heightened awareness of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, the National Folk Museum of Korea has compiled a vast number of materials that attest to the spiritual roots of the Korean people, and has been publishing the ongoing *Encyclopedia of Korean Folk Culture* since 2002.

To release this series of encyclopedias for the use of individuals and specialists alike, the materials on Korean folk culture were divided into eight themes. As of 2019, we have published the *Encyclopedia of Korean Seasonal Customs*, *Encyclopedia of Korean Folk Beliefs*, *Encyclopedia of Korean Folk Literature*, *Encyclopedia of Korean Rites of Passage*, and the *Encyclopedia of Korean Folk Art*. By 2026, the *Encyclopedia of Food, Clothing, and Housing in Korea*, *Encyclopedia of Occupations and Skills in Korea*, and *Encyclopedia of Korean Folk Society* are also scheduled for publishing.

Additionally, an English language edition of each encyclopedia is being published following the completion of the Korean language edition. The National Folk Museum will continue its efforts to publish the *Encyclopedia of Korean Folk Culture* series in line with the objective of creating a compilation in its entirety of books on Korean folk cultural heritage that has been passed down for thousands of years.

I would like to thank all those dedicated to the production of this volume, the *Encyclopedia of Korean Folk Games*, including the authors, translators, and advisors. Also, I send my heartfelt thanks to the staff of the museum's encyclopedia compilation team who have spared no time or effort in ensuring the realization of this project.

Yoon Sung-yong

Director General
National Folk Museum of Korea
June 2019



(許不製複) (俗40) The wrestling of Korean.



力

角

(俗風鮮朝)

This encyclopedia serves as an introduction to key articles of cultural heritage registered in the UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity that includes articles of national intangible cultural heritage. There are a total of 132 games and customs catalogued in this encyclopedia, including ssireum(Traditional Korean Wrestling), registered as a common traditional folk custom between the two Koreas in 2018.

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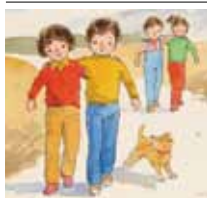


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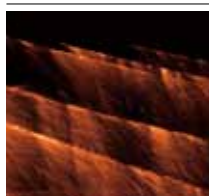
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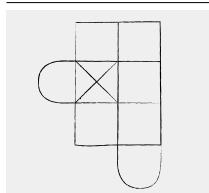
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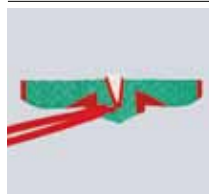
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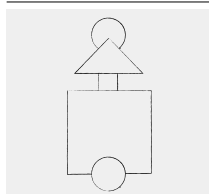
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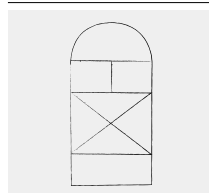
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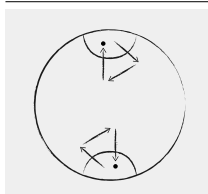


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Minsok Nori

민속놀이

Traditional Korean games played among the people

Traditional Korean games played among commoners and people of other social classes.

Despite a considerable amount of studies on various Korean folk games being accumulated thus far, a clear boundary that defines the scope of a Korean folk game has yet to be determined. Most researchers have used the term to refer to traditional games that have been passed down over the course of time. *Jeollae Nori*, or *Jeontong Nori* (both meaning traditional folk games) are other terms that have been used in the same context.

Kim Gwang-eon carried out extensive research on various types of pre-existing Korean folk games. He argued that the periodic criteria, social class of participants, and the degree of dissemination are important factors in defining and categorizing the concept of a Korean folk game. However, he also admitted that there were many difficulties in confirming those factors, leading to a conclusion that defined Korean folk games as, “games that have been played by Korean children and adults since long ago.” Other researchers known to study folk games for a number of years also suggest a similarly ambiguous definition, hinting at the difficulty in defining the concept of Korean folk games and the limitations in doing so.

In order to define the concept of Korean folk games, a clear definition of folklore must be discussed. Since folk games are technically a part of a cultural phenomenon called folklore, it is important to have a clear concept of folklore prior to discussing the nature of each game. Discourse on the definition of folklore has existed since the late 1970s, yet a clear conclusion has yet to be made. Although discussion on the concept of folklore is difficult under such circumstances, we aim to provide a workable definition to proceed with discussion.

Folklore implies a culture of *minjung* (people), however, we need to employ an exact definition of the term specifically. According to the history and

characteristics of studies on Korean folklore that began following the Japanese Occupation, as well as the discussions and practices of researchers, the term *minjung* refers to a lower class of people in most political, social, and economic contexts, while most of the cultural phenomena studied by folklorists originated in the pre-modern period. Therefore, we need to study the people that lived in that period, especially the people in the late Joseon Period, who lived just prior to the modern period, in order to understand the people as the principal aspect of folk games. The majority of people during that period belonged to the political, social, and economic lower classes. They were commoners, in a social context, and farmers, in an occupational context. They were the people of the pre-modern periods with folklore being the culture that had been passed down by them. This is essentially the key concept of folklore. The problem is, however, that these people, or *minjung*, did not maintain a separate lifestyle from those of other social classes and occupations. In fact, they created Korean culture through the exchange of mutual influence and sharing various cultural objects, including games, with those of different social classes and occupations. The interaction, itself, was made under united, connected, and hierarchical relations. Therefore, it is difficult to pinpoint the key cultures among folklore, as postulate that the surrounding cultures encompassed the cultures of the groups of various social classes and occupations, who closely interacted with commoners. Surrounding cultures include the cultures of *yangban* (the gentry of the Joseon Period), *jungin* (commoners), and *cheonmin* (the lowest class), as it pertains to social class, and the cultures of merchants and groups of specialized occupations. Conclusively, folklore is a culture of commoners belonging to the political, social, and economic lower class, mostly consisting of farmers, while also having the comprehensive nature to encompass the surrounding cultures of people with social status and occupations in connection with commoners.

Next, we need to define the concept of *nori* (game). Johan Huizinga and Roger Caillois defined the concept based upon the common folk game culture of Europe. However, there were a few discrepancies with the definition, including a lack of consideration of games played exclusively on special occasions, a predetermined concept of ideal game traits and conditions, a lack of distinguishability between conventional games and temporary, optional games, as well as a lack of consideration of variables that arise from social and cultural conditions and participant perspective. The following are newly-formed definitions of games according to the cultural context and actual practice of transmission, having taken the previous points into account:

- ① An activity performed momentarily in a space separate from reality
- ② An activity for having fun through participation and immersion
- ③ An activity generally without a predetermined process or outcome
- ④ An activity performed in an orderly and fluid manner
- ⑤ An activity creating a psychological outcome without producing anything physical
- ⑥ An activity continuously performed though repetition and shared among others

If we incorporate the above definitions for a game displaying both continuity and consistency, i.e. that which is conventionalized, a folk game can be defined as an activity that satisfies the above definitions and is performed among commoners and people of different social classes interacting with commoners.

The remaining factors that require clarification are those which were emphasized by Kim Gwang-eon in defining the concept of folk games: periodic criteria, social class of participants, and the degree of dissemination.

First is the issue of periodic criteria. The Korean term *minsok* (folk) being placed before the term *nori* is rooted in the traditional aspect of *Minsok Nori* (folk games). This points to the fact that only games that have been passed down beyond a set period of time may be recognized as folk games. According to the common concept of a tradition, such a period requires time span of at least three generations, or more than 60 years.

Next is the social class of participants. As previously noted, folklore is a concept encompassing both the culture of *minjung*, in this case “commoners,” and the culture of the social classes closely associating with the commoners. Thus, a folk game is a concept encompassing games primarily played by these commoners and the surrounding social classes. As a result, we can consider these games to have been established not only among commoners, but also among other social classes, creating a wide range of folk games.

Lastly, the degree of dissemination requires the degree of geographical boundary to consider whether to clarify a game as a folk game. A more flexible approach is needed in regards to this issue. Of course, an ideal Korean folk game is a game played nationwide, however, this is not the case for every folk game. A more realistic approach prioritizes whether games are being played at a broader scale, while also considering games played at a “village” level, which involve a small-scale community for living and playing. For example, *Gotnamu Battle* (a folk game originating from *Juldarigi*) was passed down in Yeongcheon,

Gyeongsangbuk-do Province, and the surrounding area, while *Dalbongttwigi* was passed down only within Namjeong-ri of Namjeong-myeon in Yeongdeok, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province. Although the two games were played solely in a county or a village, they meet the other requirements of being categorized as folk games; hence the need to include them as folk games as well.

In conclusion, the final categorization of folk games based on the above could be determined as, first, the primary folk games shared by commoners and every other social class nationwide, or within a broad geographical area; and second, the additional folk games shared among a specific social class or a certain region.

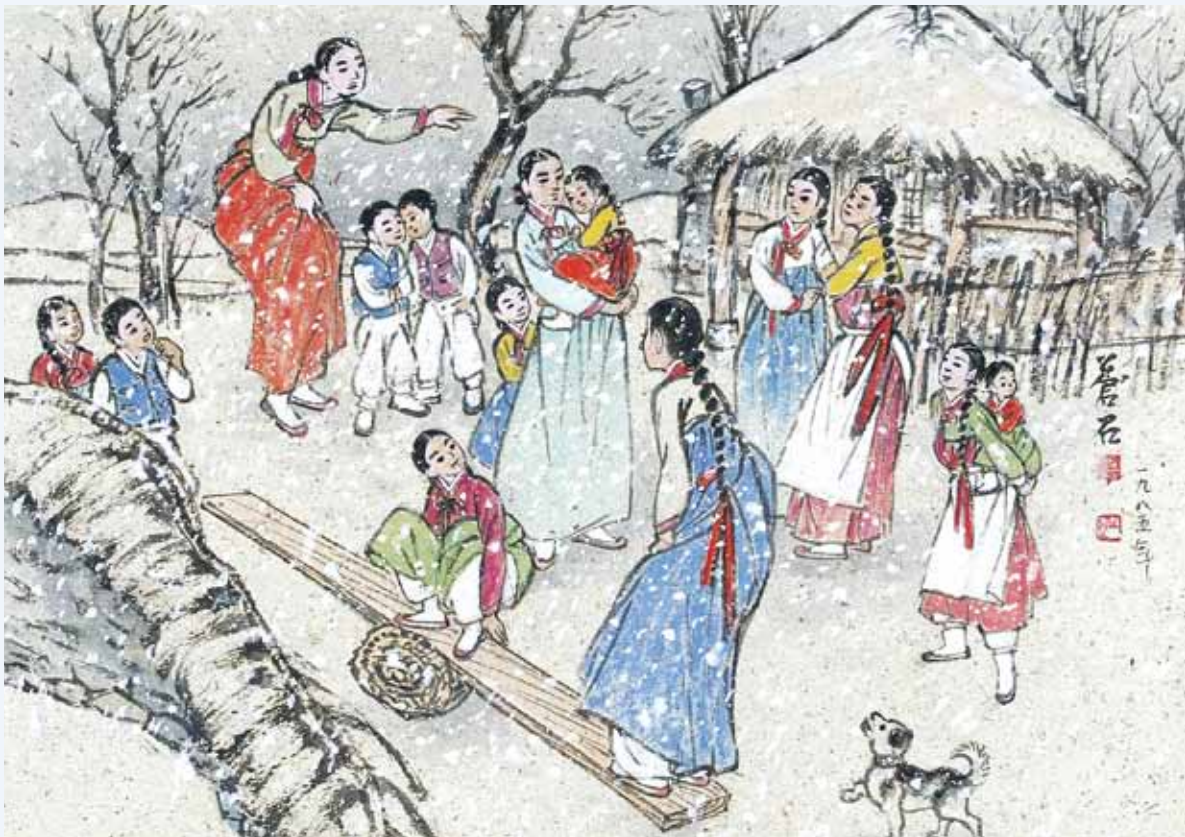
There are various types of folk games. As many as 200 games have been categorized as folk games until now, and they are divided into three types based on the number of players: *Daedong Nori* (games played on a large scale), *Sojipdan Nori* (games played among small groups), and *Gaein Nori* (games played one-on-one). *Daedong Nori* is a special event held with the participation, support, and interest of many community members. *Sojipdan Nori*, on the other hand, involves games played anytime by a small group of people brought together under certain similarities in age, occupation, or mutual friendship. These games include gambling games like *Tujeon* and *Hwatu*, which require personal skill. Such games are meant to be played by a large group of people and to be enjoyed as much as possible. Lastly, *Gaein Nori* describes games focusing on the individuality of players, rather than a collaboration.

The first type of folk game to discuss in detail is *Daedong Nori*. Pre-modern Korean communities were based on farming. The members of these farming communities focused on the changes of seasons, and set dates for seasonal holidays based on important turning points in time. The changes of years and seasons served as turning points when it came to the calendar and nature, while the times for sowing, cultivating, and harvesting served as turning points in terms of farming. The holidays were times free from the daily work life. Also, they were the times to hold community festivals, which was when most *Daedong Nori* was conducted as the main event, resulting in an evolution into the games of festivals.

Local communities of traditional Korean society were divided into villages, counties, and country. People felt an actual sense of belonging to their village and county, while most local folk customs were transmitted through the setting of these two administrative districts. This village and county-centered dissemination of *Daedong Nori* resulted in the classification of village-type games

and county-type games. The two types are then divided further into open and closed versions for both village and county-type games, depending upon the participation of outside groups.

Closed versions were played by one or two villages on an annual basis, whereas, open versions were held on a larger scale by one hosting village and the many participating villages surrounding it. In general, the latter was held at times commemorating a bountiful harvest or celebration. The hosting villages of open village-type games were usually the center of administrative, transportation, commercial, or military affairs in the region. Meanwhile, the hosts of county-type games were *eupchi*, where the *chiso* (main administrative office) of the county was located. *Eupchi* was the district where the head administrator of the county lived and ruled, as well as the administration hub of the county that dealt with political, cultural, commercial, transportation, and military affairs. At ordinary times, closed county-type games were held, which were only played



Neolttwigi | Lee Eok-yeong | National Folk Museum of Korea

by villages within the *eupchi*. Open county-type games, on the other hand, were held during times celebrating a rich harvest and/or other positive events, or during more unfortunate periods, such as when the community was stricken by draught or plague. These were typically comprised of massive scale folk games played by almost every village within a county.

Additionally, *Daedong Nori* can be categorized into playstyles. Besides *Jisinbapgi*, *Tirial Nori*, and the games played by women involving dance (e.g. *Ganggangsullae*), most *Daedong Nori* was competitive, involving team competition. Team competition styles of *Daedong Nori* can be divided into four distinct styles of game play: pulling, pushing, pushing and pulling, and first-to-reach. *Juldarigi* (tug-of-war) is the only pulling-type game, where two teams simultaneously pull a rope toward their respective side to decide a winning team. Pushing-type games decided a winner by pushing out the opponent in various ways, including *Seokjeon*, *Chajeon*, *Soemoridaegi*, *Gossaum*, *Hwaetbulssaum*, *Bak-*



Yut Nori | Lee Eok-yeong | National Folk Museum of Korea

si Battle, and *Nonggi Battle*. This type of game involves battles between the two teams using tools, including slings, *dongchae*, *soemeori*, *Go*, and people's bodies, while deciding a winning team by pushing out the opposing team. Consequently, this is the most competitive type of game.

Pushing and pulling-type games combine the act of pushing outward and pulling inward. The only game in this category, however, is *Gotnamu Battle* of Yeongcheon. It is a game of continually capturing, hiding, and finding *gotnamu*, a part connecting two large ropes. This game has both the aspects of pulling in the *gotnamu* to one's respective side, and of pushing out the opposing team. Finally, first-to-reach-type games decide a winner upon the first team able to reach a goal. These types of games include *Dalbongttwigi*, in Yeongdeok, and *Nolssam*, in the coastal area of Uljin. *Dalbongttwigi* is a team game, requiring each player to keep throwing a wooden stick called a *dalbong* to the person in front of them until they reach the goal, while *Nolssam* is a boat race using wooden boats or rafts.

The second game type to discuss is *Sojipdan Nori*, which is once more divided into three categories of players: adults, children, and toddlers. Adults had to work hard for a living while performing other daily tasks and could not spare the time to play games together. Therefore, *Sojipdan Nori* was rarely played by adults. Men played *Hwatu*, *Tujeon*, *Golpae*, and *Majak* in the winter, when they enjoyed relatively more spare time, of which such games had a strong emphasis on gambling. *Suryeop* and *Cheollyeop* (variations of hunting and fishing) were also played, yet were also considered work as well.

Women traditionally enjoyed *Gejuldanggigi*, a noticeably competitive game that was passed down selectively in coastal areas and some inland regions of Gyeongsang-do Province. On the other hand, individual games, including *Dodukjapgi* (catching the thief), *Chunhyangi Nori*, *Sugeondolligi* (towel passing), and *Kongsimgi*, were played nationwide. The games were also played by single women, mainly during the nights of the off-season of farming. *Yutnori* was also a game played by both men and women together, on holidays and during the off-season of farming when there was sufficient spare time. It was one of the most widely-played folk games that children could partake in as well. Moreover, *Dongneyutnori*, or *Jangjagyutnori*, played during the *Jeongwol Daeboreum* holiday season between male and female teams from a village, also displayed the characteristic traits of a *Daedong Nori*.

As such, *Sojipdan Nori* among lower class men was mostly played indoors during the off-season of farming. However, such games played among *yangban*

were typically played outdoors, regardless of the season. The two representative games of the *yangban* were *San Nori*, where a group of people enjoyed the scenery of mountains, writing poetry accompanied by food and drink, and *Baet Nori*, where a group of people enjoyed scenery on a boat moving, or floating in place, also writing poetry accompanied by food and drink. Since the *yangban* were relatively wealthy and free from work, they could get away from daily routines and enjoy the arts anytime they wanted. Meanwhile, *Ssangnyuk* and *Tuho* were games played among men and women, both together and separately. They required a specific set of materials, and therefore, were only played by the wealthy social classes, including the *yangban*.

Sojipdan Nori among adults were played sparingly. However, children could play various versions of these games as they were relatively free from daily work, and could secure the time and participants to play games. Boys mostly played competitive games, requiring active body movement and a broad use of space, including *Jachigi*, *Jangchigi*, *Gunsa Nori*, *Biseok Chigi*, *Maltagi*, *Jin Nori*, and *Kkangtongchagi*. On the other hand, girls played mission-based games with gradually elevating difficulty, including *Gomujul Nori*, *Gonggi Nori*, and *Mangchagi*, along with games encouraging to have fun together, such as *Sokkup Nori* (playing house), *Garakjichatgi Nori*, and *Kkamakjapgi*. Although boys and girls usually played different types of games, all children would play the same games when they were little. *Kkaegeumbalssaum*, *Bongsa Nori*, *Daksari*, and *Sumbak-kokjil* (hide-and-seek) were played by every child. Meanwhile, children from the *yangban* class were not allowed to play active outdoor games, leading to them mostly playing indoors. Indoor games include *Goelmodum* (remembering names of counties), *Seunggyeongdo* (a game requiring understanding of the structure of government officials), and *Namseungdo Nori* (travelling around famous spots of Korea on a game board according to the given status of each player).

The last type of game to discuss is *Gaein Nori*. In general, men played strategic competitive games that could be used as a means for gambling, such as *Janggi* and *Baduk*. *Baduk* was mostly played among the wealthy classes, including *yangban*, as it required a prolonged period of game play.

On the other hand, *Janggi* had relatively simple rules with a shorter playtime, being played mostly among commoners. The saying, “*Gat* wearers (a hat worn by people of a high social class) play *Baduk*, and towel wearers play *Janggi*,” well depicted this contrast. Women played a *Gaein Nori* called *Gilssam Nori*, which was a competition based on thread making. However, the game was

played as part of housework, and was hardly considered a conventional game. Ultimately, there were no other games included within *Gaein Nori* that were played among women. This was likely because they had almost no free time to play games, while the Confucianism ideology of the time required them to behave modestly.

Unlike the limited types of *Gaein Nori* for adults, *Gaein Nori* geared toward children was far more diverse, similar to that degree of *Sojipdan Nori*. *Gaein Nori* for boys often include the expressions *chigi* (hitting) or *chagi* (kicking) as a part of the game names, indicating the competitive aspects and use during competitions. *Ttakjichigi*, *Donchigi*, *Motchigi*, and *Yeotchigi* were games to capture other players' game pieces, while *Paengichigi* and *Jegichagi* could be played either to enjoy themselves, or to compete against one another. Additionally, *Ssireum*, *Palssireum* (arm wrestling), and *Kkaegeumbalssaum* were games testing physical strength and balance, whereas *Gonu* was a game testing strategic thinking and intellectual capacity. In contrast, girls played games like *Pulssaum*, *Neolttwigi*, *Siltteugi* (cat's cradle), and *Kkwaribulgi*, which had competitive aspects, yet were groups, more about having fun during the process of game play, rather than deciding a winner. Only a few games out of *Gaein Nori* were played alone, including *Gulleongsoe Gulligi*, for boys, and *Kkwaribulgi*, for girls.

Gaein Nori focused on individuality, leading to a majority of these games played by both boys and girls. The games were enjoyed having fun by oneself, rather than competing against one another. Examples of such games are *Ban-gakkaebi Nori* (catching a grasshopper and enjoying its movement), *Pungdengi Nori* (catching a beetle and making it sweep the yard) and *Jamjari Sijipbonaegi* (catching and playing with a dragonfly). Also, children enjoyed running around with pinwheels, imitating weddings using *pulgaksi* (a doll) made of sorghum straws, grass and cloth, or creating various shadow figures, such as cats and dogs, using moonlight or candlelight. Only a few games of *Gaein Nori* were competitive, including *Jjolgijeopsi Nori* (skipping stones) and *Gitdae Sseureotteurigi*.

Daedong Nori was hardly discussed in the course of studying the effects of games during the socialization process of children, as the games were considered to be only for adults, yet they were also played by children. During by children. During festivals, *Daedong Nori* was preceded by children, while also participating in the main games. In fact, these games were categorized apart from other games played by only children of a certain age during a specific



Ganggangsullae | Lee Eok-yeong | National Folk Museum of Korea



Notdaribaggi | Lee Eok-yeong | National Folk Museum of Korea

point of becoming socialized. They also held a significant meaning in terms of studying the relationship between a specific community's culture and its forms of socialization.

Primarily, *Daedong Nori* provided a means to children to fundamentally learn the ideals of, as well as the ways to operate within the communities they belonged to. For instance, *Juldarigi* required children to make small ropes by themselves, called *aegijul*, and typically enjoyed the game at the beginning of the Lunar New Year. During this process, older people would eventually join the children's games. Adults would also closely observe the whole process, before playing in a game of *Juldarigi*, themselves, joined by people of all ages using a bigger rope made with the children's rope, or an entirely new rope. Children learned the way of making strong ropes by observing the adults collecting the required materials and going through the steps of production. They would learn how to process joint tasks well through cooperation and would be given the opportunity to practice and learn the ideas of cooperation and coexistence, which formed the ethos of the community and the principles behind the community's productivity.

Meanwhile, when a *Daedong Nori* "battle" was fought between villages, the villagers formed groups for the game with a sense of stronger solidarity. Villagers prepared for a tense battle, while children from both villages fought battles with a strong sense of belonging to their respective villages. They clearly recognized the communities they belonged to and, as a result, discovered and solidified their identities as members of the community.

The other role of *Daedong Nori* within the socialization of children was to cultivate an understanding of the ways of expressing excitement within a group and the festive spirit based on the concept of *daedong* (gathering together). At the sites of *Daedong Nori*, people often put aside their ethics-based way of thinking and made more "festive" decisions in commemoration of *daedong*. It was a time to be free of discrimination and suspend rules and regulations, leading to people expressing excitement that challenged the dominant value system of the times, while also trying to destroy the social systems. By participating in such moments with their parents and older siblings, children learned the reasons behind the existence of festivals and the manner of their transmission. Also, they recognized the value of expressing excitement within the cultural limitations of the times, and contemplated the meaning of their daily order and value system. By observing the process in which the once absolute things of daily life became diminished and mocked, they realized the relativity of those

values within daily life. It was, indeed, an educational experience where children built their own ways of seeing and understanding the world.

Most folk games were gradually discontinued as Korea underwent the Japanese Occupation, the Korean War, and industrialization period. Under such circumstances, *Juldarigi*, in some regions, including Jeolla-do Province and Gyeong-sang-do Province, was the only *Daedong Nori* being passed down as a seasonal custom by the groups who originally performed the game.

Additionally, other folk games transmitted by the groups that originally performed the games included games of *Sojipdan Nori*, including *Sumbak-kokjil*, *Biseokchigi*, and *Maltagi*; *Gaein Nori*, including *Paengichigi*, *Jegichagi*, and *Jjolgijeopsi*; as well as games for toddlers, including *Doridori* and *Gonjigonji*. Also, *Yut Nori* is still disseminated across the generations, thanks to its simplicity of game materials and the variability of game play, enabling the game to adapt to the changing of the times.

The next mode of transmission is local festivals. A number of local festivals were created since the 1960s, eventually earning folk games the recognition as cultural resources. Most notably, the local self-governing system was launched in 1995, marking the beginning of festivals developing into cultural and tourism attractions. As a result, the folk games passed down through each region were recreated as stage performances, naturally evolving into local festivals. Meanwhile, *Ssireum*, *Taekgyeon*, and *Tuu* (bull fighting) were preserved as traditional sports. As the games adapted to the changing times, they became amateur sports, professional sports, or even legalized methods of gambling.

The last mode of transmission is the designation as an important intangible cultural properties and local intangible cultural property. They are being disseminated across generations under the transmission system and duties of transmission stipulated in the Cultural Heritage Protection Act. The transmissions of intangible cultural properties are guaranteed legally and systemically by receiving a certain amount of support from the central and/or local governments. Also, most of the intangible cultural property have become aspects of the local festivals, and play a certain role in the building of regional identities and in the development of tourist attractions through the incorporation of local cultures.

Andong Chajeon Nori

안동 차전놀이

A game performing a type of team battle

A game using nori equipment called dongchae for team battle.

Andong Chajeon Nori was designated as an intangible property and is the official name for the *Chajeon or Dongchae Ssaum*. The Andong Chajeon Nori has been passed down as two types of battles, including *Bondongchae* and *Jjaegidongchae*. *Bondongchae* was used in larger scale *Chajeons*, as it was passed down among villages in Andong, while *Jjaegidongchae* was a simple vehicle used in smaller scale *Chajeons*, specifically performed among adolescents.

Unlike the *Jjaegidongchae*, with the X-shaped posterior, the *Bondongchae* resembles the open upper part of an A-frame carrier and cannot be raised or swung during a close match. Instead, once advanced guards from both sides clash and make a break toward the opposing team, they pull down the vehicle, or the leader of the counterpart, to win the battle. In *Jjaegidongchae*, a team wins the battle by dragging down the vehicle or the captain of the enemy, as well as by fighting in head-on clashes in the air.

There are generally two types of group battles where local community members are divided into two groups. The two groups are formed based on gender for the first type of battle, while the community is split into two areas in the second type. In the area-based division, residential addresses are generally classified into two groups, such as east or west, north or south, upper or lower, and so on. In Andong Chajeon Nori, however, the place of birth, rather than one's current residential address, serves as the criteria toward establishing the different groups.

In addition, Andong Chajeon Nori differs from other games in that it features advanced guards, called *meorikkun*, who play a critical role in leading their team through a fierce battle toward victory.



Andong Chajeon Nori | National Folk Museum of Korea

Baduk

바둑

A game taking turns to arrange black and white pieces on
a wooden board to decide a winner

A two-player game taking turns to place black stones and white stones on a wooden board with a 19 x 19 grid to see who can occupy the most territory to win.

Also called *Wongi* or *Hyeokgi*, Baduk originated in China and made its way to Goguryeo, becoming a hobby among the upper class. Given that Emperor Shun of ancient China taught Baduk to his son, Baduk retains a very long history, while Baduk boards used during the later Han Period have also been discovered.

According to *Gudangseo* (the Old Book of Tang), the people of Goguryeo liked Baduk, as well as *Tubo* (a traditional game where players throw sticks from a distance into a large canister). *Samguksagi* (a historical record of the

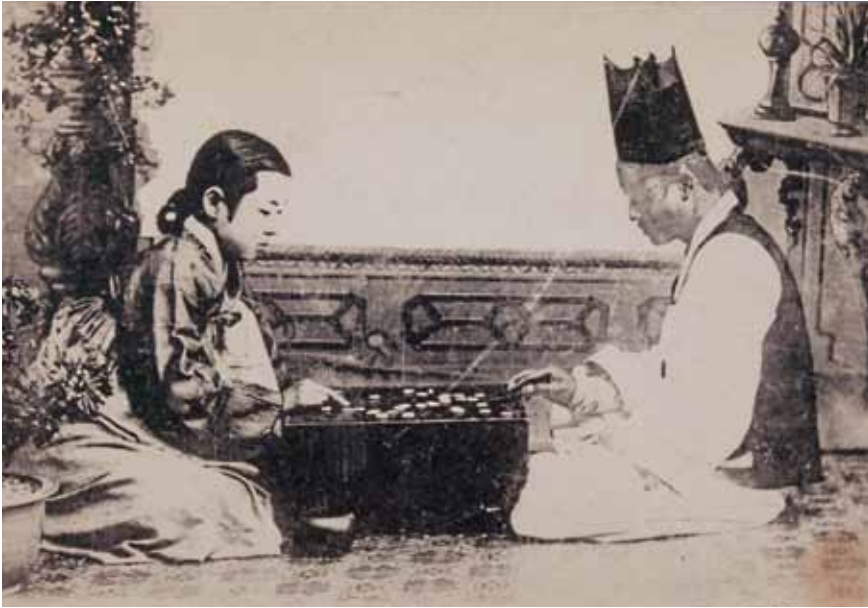


Badeukdugo | Gisanpungsokdo | Korean Christian Museum at Soongsil University

Three Kingdoms of Korea) says that King Jangsu of Goguryeo was able to occasionally win battles by dispatching a Buddhist monk named Dorim to King Gaero of Baekje as a spy, having taken advantage of his superior Baduk skills. Baduk also spread to Silla, while according to an anecdote, prior to King Hyoseong of Silla ascending to the throne, another Buddhist monk, Shin Chung, used to play Baduk with the crown prince, and the prince promised that he would appoint Shin Chung to an important position. However, the king did not keep his promise and Shin Chung composed a song expressing resentment and attached it to a nut pine tree, leading to the tree's withering. Upon hearing this, the King repented of his mistake and promoted Shin Chung to a high position. The people of Silla were also talented Baduk players with a reputation that even traveled to the people of the Tang Dynasty.

During the Goryeo Period, Baduk was passed down through the upper class for the training of mental acuity. According to the book, *Goryeosa* (Goryeo History), Choi Seung-ro caused a stir by appealing to the King that the crown prince, who later became King Gyeongjong, indulged in scandalous affairs, *hyangak* (traditional Korean music), as well as Baduk and *Janggi* (Korean chess) all day long. Go was also played by civil retainers and generals. *Goryeosa* accounts that General Gangjo lost his life due to his obsession with Go. Even though his subordinate reported on the enemy's sudden attack, he wasted time engaging in the game and ended up being taken alive. In the end, he lost his life after refusing appeasement from Georan. On the other hand, as the news that the people of Goryeo were excellent Baduk players spread to China, two civil retainers, Gwak Hui-bin and Jo Jeong-tong, went to China to play Baduk upon invitation from the Emperor of Yuan. At the time, the most excellent Baduk player was nicknamed, *Guksu*, as is still the tradition today.

According to *Dusieonhae*, (literary works by the legendary Chinese poet, Du Fu, 1481), *Baktongsaeonhae* (Korean annotation of Chinese study material, *Baktongsa*, 1677) Baduk was written as Badok, pointing to the term "Baduk" as a pure Korean word with a very long history. King Sejo enjoyed Baduk, and even wrote a Baduk manual named *Ohaengwigibeop*. At the end of the Joseon dynasty, Lee Gyu-gyung explained the principle of Baduk by studying ancient documents through a theory named *Wigibyeonjeungseol* in his book *Ojuyeonmunjangjeonsango*, which contains a systematic approach to Baduk, as well as criticism, like the book, *Hyeokgiron*. Kim Hongdo, a genre painter in the late Joseon Period, was under scrutiny for being excessively taken by *Janggi*, *Ssireum* (traditional Korean wrestling), and Baduk when he was bereaved of his



Baduk | Japanese Occupation | National Folk Museum of Korea

father. According to *Eou Yadam* (Eou's Unofficial Histories), Seo Cheonryeong, who was of royal blood, boasted of being the best Baduk player, but was put to shame after being defeated by an ordinary man in a Baduk match. Among the Kisan Genre Painting series painted by Kim Jun-keun (penname Kisan), paintings describing Koreans playing Baduk during the late 19th century are housed in the Museum of ethnology in Hamburg, Germany, and The State Museum of Oriental Art in Moscow, Russia. In a painting in Germany, one *yangban* (the gentry of the Joseon Period) in a *jeongjagwan* (a hat worn by the *yangban* class) is holding the black stone, and another *yangban* wearing a *gat* (a traditional hat) is holding the white stone. Around those two players, three people wearing *gat* and *yugeon* (a traditional hat) are sitting or standing while watching the game, and a drinking table is presented next to them, implying that they are drinking and playing Baduk for entertainment. In contrast, only a teacup is shown next to the *yangban* (the gentry of the Joseon Period) elder wearing the *jeongjagwan*. The board in the picture is of high quality, with patterns ornamented on the legs, with the stone bowls of both players painted in red. During the Joseon Period, Baduk had been mostly played by relatively wealthy noble men, implying that Baduk is a game of high society, which intensely

stimulates brain activity. Also, it is said that Kim Ok-kyun, one of the leaders among reformist activists, was also skilled at many games, such as billiards and Baduk.

Baduk has two players, one with black stones and the other with white stones. As two players place stones alternately on a wooden board with a 19 x 19 grid, the player to successfully build the most “houses” wins. Two houses are required in order to keep going. An empty space that does not belong to either player is called *gongbae*. Additional rules, including *Pae* (a tactical and strategic phase) and *Bik* (local stalemate), make the game more intriguing. The winner is determined after filling *gongbae* with stones and counting the number of houses on the board, however, there are some cases where a player concedes defeat during the game. As of now, three countries, Korea, China, and Japan, have professional Baduk leagues of their own, and in these countries, Baduk is quite a popular hobby among ordinary people.

Baduk originated from China and widely spread among Korean nobles during the Three Kingdoms Period of Korea, as an excellent board game for mental development. Baduk is regarded as more than just a game, rather, it is more like cultivating one’s character, which is well-represented in the term *Kido* (the way of Baduk). On top of that, Baduk has evolved into a professional sport, with increasing arrival of professional players. Baduk has also been actively passed down throughout younger generations amid being chosen as an official event during the Asian Games.

Baekjung Nori

백중놀이

A custom involving a feast for a day after finishing one’s tasks on the farm

A festive custom for farmers around Baekjung, a traditional holiday related to the full moon.

Baekjung Nori is a seasonal folk custom consisting of a one-day feast around the beginning or middle of July, according to the lunar calendar, performed after all the major works of annual cultivation. During the day, the community work is completed, including cleaning the wells and the roads. All the households then prepare food and gather together to hold a party and share the food. At the beginning of the 7th lunar month, workers hold a meeting to choose a day for the Baekjung Nori. Before *Baekjung*, roads are cleaned and lawns are mowed. On *Baekjung*, the wells are cleaned first and a ritual is performed in front of them. During the cleaning, people bail water out using baskets from the outside at first. However, since wells are deep, a pure, honest person goes into the wells to ladle water out at the end. Later, the virtuous person of the village is the first to draw from the water. In the early morning of *Baekjung*, landlords prepare various kinds of foods, including alcohol, *tteok* (rice cake), and *jeok* (Korean shish kebab). Also, landlords often prepare a *jeoksam* suit (an unlined summer jacket) made of hemp. A wealthy landlord or a landlord, whose laborers work earnestly and hard, prepares a plentiful feast for the workers. After receiving the food, the workers flock to a certain place and compare the food to see which landlord offers more. Then, the workers receiving a lot of food go on to celebrate. In this regard, if workers are depressed due to a small amount of food, the landlords sometimes will present more, essentially representing the care of the landlords, as well as the diligence of the workers. The Baekjung Nori starts in the morning and lasts until sunset. The workers gather together and share the food over stories, including any complaints held against their landlords, which are rarely expressed during ordinary times. Also, they talk about the hardships of farming and their lives, raising their voices toward the end in a show of increased emotion. After a drink, they play instruments and have a party, where people play their instruments and others stand up and dance.

On the day of *Baekjung*, many events have been held. First of all, each household picks ripe fruit to offer to the shrines of their ancestors and eat them in a ritual called *Cheonsin Charye*. Also, sometimes, immature rice grains are cut to be offered to Jongmyo (the Royal Ancestral Shrine). In the farming villages, on *Baekjung*, landlords allow their servants to take a day of rest, and grant them some money. The servants spend the money to have a drink and buy some food and products at the market, leading to the coinage of the word *Baekjungjang* (the market on *Baekjung*). A *Baekjungjang* has many vendors and numerous purchases are made. Amid the joy of inebriation, farmers play farm-



ers' music to celebrate the day and, sometimes, have a *Ssireum* (Korean wrestling) match at the market. In addition, a traveling troupe of performers visits the market, creating a bustling atmosphere. This kind of *Baekjung* holiday is celebrated in more grand fashion in the southern part of Korea. Furthermore, a servant whose landlord gains the largest harvest during the year is chosen to ride on a cow and go around and comfort the village. This tradition is a festival following the completion of farming tasks, which is also referred to as *Homis-sisi*, *Seseoyeon*, or *Jangwollye*. In the festival, the landlords of a village offer food and drinks to pacify their workers for their efforts in farming during the year. On Jeju Island, workers have to go out to sea without a break. As it is told that larger fish are caught on *Baekjung*, workers often go out with a torch in the night to catch as much as they can. Moreover, there is a belief that a guardian spirit, *Baekjungwasal*, lives in Halla Mountain, becomes green with envy as people take all the ripe crops and fruit from the mountain around *Baekjung*, bringing about heavy winds. In this regard, some people perform a ritual for the mountain god as well.

Baet Nori

배놀이

A custom enjoying songs and dances on boats

A custom appreciating artwork on a boat in a river or pond.

Baet Nori was mainly held by the *yangban* (the gentry of the Joseon Period), although it was enjoyed by various classes. Baet Nori for the *yangban* can be divided into two types: the Sojourn, where people stay on a boat in a specific area; and Excursion, where people move around over a relatively long period of time. Sojourn was typically a custom where people set a boat afloat near their home, whereas Excursion was a custom where people move a body of water, which takes a longer amount of time, even up to several days. Baet Nori entails



Baenoreumhago | Gisanpungsokdo (Replica) | National Folk Museum of Korea



Baet Nori on the Taedong River | Japanese occupation | National Folk Museum of Korea

drinking, composing, and reciting a *sijo* (traditional three-verse Korean poem), and in some cases, participants were accompanied by *gisaengs* (highly-trained female artists in ancient Korea who entertained men with music, conversation, and poetry) and court musicians for dancing, signing, and accompaniment.

Most activities of the *yangban* are static, while Baet Nori is more dynamic, since it involves leaving the home to travel to other places in nature and appreciate the arts, along with the landscape. Although it might differ depending on the case, the fact that it involves various recreational elements, including drinking, dancing, music, composing, and reciting a *sijo*, in hand with San Nori, it exemplifies how the *yangban* appreciated the arts.

Bawijeol Maeul Hosang Nori

바위절마을 호상놀이

A custom holding an empty casket and singing on the night prior to
a funeral of someone who has lived a life of longevity

A custom transporting empty caskets through Bawijeol Village of Amsa-dong, Gangdong-gu, Seoul.

The Bawijeol Maeul Hosang Nori is a custom where a *seonsorikkun* (a lead singer) and *sangyeokkuns* (people holding a casket) sing a song called *Sangyeotsori* in the night before a funeral. It was passed down primarily among the Moon Clan, who lived in Amsa-dong of Gangdong-gu until the town was incorporated into Seoul in 1963. The transporting stopped due to urbanization up until it was restored in 1990 and designated as intangible cultural heritage No. 10 of Seoul Metropolitan City in 1996.

The Bawijeol Maeul Hosang Nori does not take place at every funeral, rather, it is performed solely for the funerals of the deceased who have lived a life of longevity and happiness. The custom functions as consolation to mourners in special circumstances, the death of a loved one. Also, it is a means to



Noje



Stepping-stone crossing

Bawijeol Maeul Hosang Nori | Gangdong-gu, Seoul | 2015 | National Folk Museum of Korea

strengthen the cooperation between *sangyeokkuns* through singing and marching. *Sangyeokkuns* play the *buk* (drums), *janggu* (double-headed drums with a narrow waist in the middle), and *kkwaenggwari* (small gongs), while they carry around an empty casket. They also perform humorous acts, such as sobbing, mimicking mourners, and pretending to hold a memorial service while making quips.

The Bawijeol Maeul Hosang Nori consists of *chulsang* (carrying a casket out of a house), a *Sangyeo Nori* (a custom using a coffin), *Noje* (a ritual performed on a road), crossing a stream on stepping stones, crossing a single log bridge, climbing a mountain slope, and marching for the construction of a tomb. It follows the possible route of a casket during an actual funeral. The *seonsorikkun*, who is also a *yoryeongjabi*, shakes a *yoryeong* (hand-bell) in front of the casket and sings a song to lead the way. Behind the *seonsorikkun*, each casket is carried by 36 *sangyeokkuns* in four rows following behind and singing along.

According to the custom, once the caskets of the deceased have been placed on biers, there is a *Barinje* (the ritual before the coffin leaves a house) performance. A *seonsorikkun* calls out “*Gonbangne!*” three times while ringing a *yoryeong*. Behind him are *sangdukkuns* (or *sangyeokkuns*) answering, “*Ne!*” carrying biers on their shoulders. They keep pace with each other by repeating “*Eoreo-gineomcha*” multiple times, followed by the *seonsorikkun* singing *Mamo Sori*, a chief mourner and other people expressing mourning bows three times. While this happens, the front of each casket is inclined forward as a valediction.

Next, the *yoryeongjabi* goes to a casket to lead the march. At the edge of the village, the two caskets face, push, and wander around each other along to a song called *Banga Taryeong*, which is referred to as *Sangyeo Eorugi*. The caskets sometimes take a rest at a place that the deceased used to go to or own. During the break, *Noje* (the ritual on a road) is performed where visitors who have not yet paid their respects can express their condolences.

During the crossing a stream on stepping stones and crossing a single log bridge, two out of the four rows of *sangdukkuns* leave the line. Only the remaining two rows of people carry the bier while crossing over. With the bier and their feet at the center, they lean outward, creating a V-shape.

For climbing a mountain slope, they march in four rows. Two rows on the upper side of a hill lean forward while the other two rows on the lower side hold the bier higher to gain a balance. As such, they show various formations until they arrive at the burial site. As soon as they arrive at the destination, they lower the casket and perform *dalgujil* (the ramming of earth). For an ordinary

dalgujil, six people pound the earth twice, while for beoldalgujil, 10 to 15 people beat down on the earth three times. Here, the seonsorikkun sings a song and plays a drum while *dalgujilkkuns* (people ramming the earth) swing a long ramming stick by bending their lower back like a butterfly spreading its wings and singing along after the seonsorikkun. In this way, the Bawijeol Maeul Hosang Nori encapsulates the entire process, from *Barin* (taking a casket out of the house) to *Seongbun* (the mounding work).

Bin Sangyeo Nori

빈 상여놀이

A custom imitating a funeral with an empty casket

A custom simulating a funeral by carrying an empty bier on the shoulders the night before a burial.

The Bin Sangyeo Nori is a performance by an *apsorikkun* (lead vocalist of funeral songs) and a group of *sangdukkun* (pallbearers) the night before carrying the coffin out the next morning in order to familiarize themselves with carrying it properly during the ceremony. Once the preparation of the coffin room is complete and the *Seongbokje* (a rite given before the funeral) is performed, the host family sets a table of food for the deceased during the morning and night, and welcomes the mourners while openly expressing sadness. The funeral would continue for either three, five, or seven days, while the three-day funeral is the most common form found today. The day before a burial is called *Deuneun Nal*, when mourners perform *bunhyangjaebae* (the burning of incense and bowing twice before the deceased) and console *sangju* (the chief mourner). For *hosangs* (funerals for wealthy and/or old people who died peacefully), an event called *Daedotum* is conducted during the night before the burial, wherein the *Sangdukkuns* enjoy the Bin Sangyeo Nori, carrying an empty casket, singing the *Sangyeotsori* (pallbearer's dirge). Bin Sangyeo Nori is performed by young

adult males from the village, using the actual casket for the burial, mostly in cases of a *hosang*. Every *Sangdukkun* is involved in this carrying out of this custom together in the yard of the house of mourning, or in the side street in front of it.

While a group of *sangdukkuns* carry an empty bier on their shoulders, *apsorikkun* sing *apsori* (the first part of a song) and the rest of the *sangdukkuns* repeat the choruses as they march forward. The hosts of the funeral host the *sangdukkuns* singing *Sangyeotsori* in the yard with food and drink. The *sangdukkuns* stay awake through the night, having drinks and snacks, *kkojitteok* (a variation of Korean rice cake), red bean porridge, and chicken soup. They try to make the *sangju* laugh through various means, such as by requesting for more food and drink by giving a ride for a son-in-law of the *sangju* in the bier, having a playful friend of the *sangju* pretending to wail and grumble in a humorous manner, or repeating the process of offering condolences several times.

If the deceased was older than 70, and the *sangju* is aged around 50 and wealthy, the villagers enjoy various performances at the funeral instead of observing the formality of the custom. During the night before the burial, the *sangdukkuns* gather around, carrying an empty bier on their shoulders, and sing *Sangyeotsori* to *apsori* just like an actual funeral procession. *Daedotum* (another name of the Bin Sangyeo Nori) is conducted out of respect to the will of the deceased, saying “I gave everything I had to raise you all. Don’t you think you must do the same for my departure?” In order to perform *Daedotum*, *sangju* and the relatives officially invite *sangdukkuns* and village elders, saying “We are inviting everyone, even distant relatives of the parents of my daughter-in-law.” The excitement during *Daedotum* depends on the *apsorikkun*. The performers even dance around carrying a bier on their shoulders when they get excited.

However, the lyrics of *apsori* are more sad than funny and is believed that the essence of humor is to understand sadness.

Daedotum is not only about causing a hilarious fuss, but also about embracing the empathy that stems from sadness.

In some cases, *Daedotum* is performed as a way to boast the *sangju*’s wealth. Some people criticize them for that reason, saying “*Daedotum* is nothing but a display of wealth to save face,” as many families cannot afford *Daedotum* even if they wanted to conduct a performance. The lyrics of *apsori*, sung during *Daedotum*, are the same as *Sangyeotsori*, and the bier is decorated the same as on the actual burial day, only without the casket. *Apsorikkun* sing *apsori* on the ground at first, then climb up on the bier to sing it. When *Sangdukkuns* sing



Jangnye Nori | Hadong, Gyeongsangnam-do Province | 2003 | Korearoot

choruses, they often dance by extending both arms to the sides, then raise and fold them repeatedly. The *Sangju* bows twice to the casket, places money beside it, then stands by it. The people performing *Daedotum* would not dare wear the mourning apparel of the *sangju*, so they wear a borrowed one from neighbors and imitate the grumbling of the *sangju*, standing beside or in front of him. For example, if one person expresses sadness, yelling, "Oh, what a tragedy! What a joy!" then the *sangju* pushes him away with a cane. The person then approaches the *sangju* once more right away, saying, "I'm today's *sangju*," and keeps playing the role. A more mischievous person wears a skirt made of hemp cloth, such as the wife of the *sangju*, pretending to wail while walking in a zigzag pattern, before grumbling aloud, "Oh dear, oh dear. / What a joyful death anyway / What a joyful death." As such, the outward expression of emotion is too awkward to simply go unnoticed. The friends then offer alcohol to the *sangju*, or drag him out to the yard for a dance. Someone then takes away the cane and bandana from the *sangju* and puts them on, walking around inside the coffin room, saying, "This room is too small. How can you live in a house like this?" then falls out from the room, making the *sangju* cry and other people laugh. The *sangju* needs to perform solemn rituals, thinking about the death of his parents. However, the *sangdukkuns* and mourners from the neighborhood care more about the life of the *sangju*, and perform humorous acts to let the mourner forget about the sadness. Bin Sangyeo Nori features the properties of both the informal and the formal of Korean traditional funeral.

The Bin Sangyeo Nori is played to relax and practice before the laborious task of carrying the bier. Also, it is a way to comfort and help the *sangju* overcome sadness and difficulty through various gags. The *sangju* has to think about death, and conduct a solemn and reverential ritual, resulting in *sangdukkuns*, or their neighbors, performing Bin Sangyeo Nori to prevent the *sangju* from being overwhelmed withby the grief and agitation of mourning. The custom also helps *sangdukkuns* practice carrying the bier before the burial, which is the reason of using a real bier and imitating the funeral procession. Finally, the Bin Sangyeo Nori can also be played as an inspection of the quality or parts of a newly-purchased bier. The Bin Sangyeo Nori is seldom witnessed today due to the changing of the times, and the fact that most funerals are held within hospital funeral halls or other types of funeral halls, while cremation is preferred to burial.

Biseokchigi

비석치기

A game throwing a flat stone to knock down the opponent's
flat stone standing on the ground

A game throwing a palm-sized flat stone, or performing a certain motion, to knock down another flat stone standing on the ground.

Biseokchigi was a popular game nationwide while finding its popularity among young boys. There are two speculations about its name. One is that the game was named as Biseokchigi because it was started by kicking *Songdeokbi* (commemorative monuments) that honor the meritorious deeds of corrupt officials. Another is that it was named after another Korean word *biseok* (a flying stone), using a different combination of Chinese letters. In regard to its origin, the latter conjecture seems to be closer to the truth as other similar games have been around for a long time.

Biseokchigi is played among two teams. Each team draws a line in front of their feet and stands on the line facing each other. The distance between two lines can range from 2 - 5 meters depending on the age and experience of the players. Before starting the game, they determine the order of play. Level 1 is to knock down the *biseoks* that were erected by opponents, meaning if there are five players per team, one team has to knock down all five of the *biseoks* of the other team to move up to the next level. If they fail, however, the turn is shifted to the other team. For example, if three people succeed in knocking down three *biseoks* of the opponents, and two players fail, those two people are disqualified and step back from the line. The remaining three players then try to hit the other two *biseoks* of the opponents. If they succeed, those three players, along with two disqualified players, can move on to level 2, or the opponents will get a turn. Other reasons for disqualification include dropping a *biseok* while moving it and touching a *biseok* of the opponents with any body part, including a foot. There could be a case where a *biseok* that one player has thrown knocks down a *biseok* of the opponent but is laid over it. This is referred to as *banbi*, which is not counted as a success and requires that the player tries again. Re-



Biseokchigi | Lee Eok-yeong | National Folk Museum of Korea

ardless of the level, in the case of *banbi*, a *biseok* of the opponents is set in a way that the narrower side, rather than the wider side, of the *biseok* faces the player. In this setting, the player has to hit the *biseok* from the line to move on to the next level. Once level 1 is completed, players move on to the next level. The composition of the levels varies according to region, however the most common method and organization is as follows: Hitting by jumping one step → by jumping two steps → by jumping three steps → by standing on one foot; hitting by kicking → by carrying a *biseok* on the top of a foot → by carrying a *biseok* between two ankles → by carrying a *biseok* between two knees → by going with a *biseok* inserted between the buttocks and dropping it → by going with a *biseok* on the stomach → by going with a *biseok* on a shoulder → by going with a *biseok* on the head → by going with the *biseok* while eyes are closed.

In addition, there is an unlimited amount of variations, including *Shinmun Pari* (Newsvendor), where players put a *biseok* in their underarm to drop it on a *biseok* of the opponent, and *Bihaenggi* (Airplane), where players put a *biseok* on the back of the hand, in addition to another way of putting a *biseok* on a cheek. One notable characteristic is that, in the beginning, after throwing a *biseok* by standing and throwing, or by kicking it, players start by using the bottom part

of the body while gradually moving upward.

Each level of Biseokchigi has an interesting name as well. *Dodukbal* (Feet of Thieves) describes how players walk stealthily with a *biseok* on the back of their feet; *Tokkidduim* (Rabbit Hop) is named as such because the players hop with a stone between their ankles; *Ojumssagae* (Bedwetter) portrays players walking with tottering steps as if they urinated in their pants; *Baesajang* (Potbelly) describes players putting a *biseok* on their stomach; *Hunjang* (Medal) refers to a *biseok* placed on a shoulder, as it looks like a badge of rank; and *Tteokjangsu* (rice cake seller) is named as such since the players carrying a *biseok* on their head resemble those carrying a basket of *tteok* on their head. The names simply explain the movements of the game remarkably well, depicting the astonishing wit of children.

Bongjuk Nori

붕죽놀이

A custom wishing for a good harvest of fish

A custom wishing for a rich harvest of fish by fishing villages, having held up a bongjuk.

A *bongjuk* (a flag symbolizing a full load of fish), which is an essential item of Bongjuk Nori, is originally a flag showing a ship with a full load of fish. When croakers were commonly caught, boats with a bongjuk were often witnessed during the croaker season. In this regard, the origin and history of Bongjuk Nori has a very strong tie with croaker fishing. Indeed, the ships that caught an abundance of croakers used to return to a port with a hoisted bongjuk while playing instruments. Also, the height of the flag could indicate the amount caught. If the flag was hung high, the haul was of little consequence, while the flag's lower positioning would indicate a more successful catch.

A bongjuk is a flag with a 2 - 3-meter-long bamboo pole, split into several



Bongjuk Nori | Taean, Chungcheongnam-do Province | National Folk Museum of Korea

parts and decorated with artificial flowers. The flag was prepared prior to commencing the fishing expedition. In order to make a bongjuk, bamboo, straw, and paper, or clothes, were needed. Also, anywhere from 10 – 20 people were required to make one.

Bongjuk Nori has ritualistic attributes, which have been transmitted primarily in the western coast region, with two kinds of rituals, depending upon the timing of the performance. One type involves people playing instruments when a boat with a full load of fish returns to the port. Another type involves people performing this custom in connection with the other rituals of the village. The latter of the two has been the primarily source of transmission through the generation. For example, the villages of Hwangdo Island, in Chungcheongnam-do Province, are gathered together under their dangsan tree (sa-

cred guardian tree) to hold a ritual on the 15th of the first lunar month to wish for a rich harvest and abundant haul of fish. Residents would carry a bongjuk (or a bunggi, in accordance to their regional dialect), and dance while singing a traditional Korean ballad called *Bunggi Taryeong*. In short, the Bongjuk Nori is a custom combining dancing and singing with *Bongjuk Taryeong* as the primary song.

During the Bongjuk Nori, all participants dance along to the rhythm of the farmers' music. There is no definite form of dance, as it is spontaneous. Some go on to also argue that the dance cultivates courage and fearlessness within the fishermen.

Bossaum

보쌈

A game making a dam in a creek and crushing the opponent's dam with water

A game competing to make a dam in a creek and crush the opponent's dam by making it burst.

Bossaum is also referred to as, Dam Wrecking. The dam is a bank for the irrigation of paddies or the blockage of a stream. In the past, there were no large-scale reservoirs, resulting in an inadequate supply of water for rice farming, pushing farmers to depend greatly upon precipitation. When it was raining, people ran to their paddies with a shovel to open or close the irrigation gate and adjust the volume of the water. Also, to ensure a stable water supply, a puddle was created near paddies to store water, or a stream was blocked with a dam. No single person could stop a running stream and build a dam, requiring those who needed water stored by the dam to join forces.

Children observed and started to mimic the actions of adults by creating and demolishing their own small dams. As they felt excitement in doing so, the mimicry evolved into a game as described below.

First, the players are divided into two teams and decide which team will create a dam on which side, upstream or downstream. After choosing the location, players use everything around them, including stones, dirt, straw, grass, and roots to construct a sturdy dam. Also, they have to take the volume and the flow of the water into account in order to determine the thickness of the dam to ensure its durability. At the top of the dam, if players block the water entirely, an excessive amount of water will store up and topple over the entire construction. Therefore, a small amount of water should be allowed to flow out and over. Meanwhile, at the bottom of the dam, players should make sure to drain all the water and dig the ground as deep and large as possible. Once the dam is almost finished, the flowing water at the top should be completely blocked. The bottom part should also be solidified after checking that there is no more water coming through. After preparations are complete, the game is ready to commence. When a certain amount of water collects, the upstream team asks the downstream team whether they are ready. If the downstream team is ready, the upstream team starts to deconstruct their dam as much as possible so that the stored water will flush out and break the dam located downstream. Meanwhile, the downstream team should reinforce their dam to prevent it from collapse, however, if they are not successful in doing so, the upstream team wins. If they are successful, the downstream team wins. Once the round is complete, they switch their locations to continue on to the next round.

Players from both teams do not have time to rest. All of the work, including constructing the dam, collecting stones, and digging into the ground, require participation from all players.

Naturally, the players focus in on their role and develop a sense of teamwork. During the process, they work voluntarily, rather than through the direction of others, as they independently navigate the relationships between the depth, extent, and strength of the water, as well as the thickness and width of the dam. In this way, they get to understand the nature of water, despite the learning experience not being necessarily systemic or logical. When pesticides were not in use, many creatures lived within small creeks, including numerous kinds of fish, river crabs, and crawfish. While playing the game, the players would spontaneously catch a few and use them for a meal. Unfortunately, upon the growing widespread use of pesticides in the modern day, these creatures have all but disappeared.

Byeokgolje Ssangnyong Nori

백골제 쌍룡놀이

A game imitating a fight between a white dragon and a blue dragon in a legend about the Byeokgolje Reservoir

A custom consisting of a fight between a white dragon and a blue dragon, based on the Legend of Danya about the creation of Byeokgolje Reservoir.

Byeokgolje Ssangnyong Nori was based on the Byeokgolje Reservoir (originally a region of Baekje), the reservoir with the longest documented history in Korea. It is related to rice farming and to a religious belief in the dragons of the Gimje and Mangyeong plains, the only plains of Korea that feature a full ho-



Byeokgolje Ssangnyong Nori | Gimje, Jeollabuk-do Province | KOIS

rizon. Also, it was developed into a play based on the Legend of Danya, a tale involving human sacrifice.

The Legend of Danya is a story of human sacrifice where Danya was sacrificed for the repair of the Byeokgolje Reservoir in 790 (the 6th year of the reign of King Wonseong in Unified Silla). The conflict between the dragon and the residents of the tale expresses the effort of humans in surviving the destructive powers of nature. Moreover, the conflict between other residents and Wondeongnang represents the confrontation between the religious group, believing in the dragon and solved problems with traditional rituals, and civil engineers, pursuing science-based solutions through the use of reason. In addition, the conflict between the *taesu* (governor-general) and Wondeongnang depicts the collision between a local official catering to public sentiment and an official dispatched by the central government to distribute new knowledge and technology. Therefore, the sacrifice of Danya lends probability to the tradition that human sacrifices were made to build river banks, but they also functioned as an opportunity to settle political and social conflicts in the story. In other words, the Legend of Danya emphasizes the sublime love and the great spirit of sacrifice of Danya, the daughter of the *taesu*. She resolved the conflict between the Silla and Baekje forces and the central and local aristocrats, as well as the conflict between nature and humanity. Ultimately, she helped realize total social unification by sacrificing herself through her love for Wondeongnang, who was dispatched from *Seorabeol* (the capital of Silla) for the repair of the Byeokgolje Reservoir.

The Byeokgolje Ssangnyong Nori was designated as local cultural heritage No. 10 of Jeollabuk-do Province in December 1975.

The Byeokgolje Ssangnyong Nori consists of four *madangs* (chapters). The first madang, which is sung along to songs for labor, such as *Malbakgi* (Piling), reenacts the banking that ensures a good harvest (through irrigation canals) and safety (through the prevention of floods). The second madang performs the battle between a white dragon (the west) and a blue dragon (the east). The third madang is a play about scarification or a holy wedding with the offering of a virgin in pursuit of conciliation with a dragon. The fourth *madang* corresponds to a *gut* (shamanic ritual), or an after-party. Likewise, the *Byeokgolje Ssangnyong Nori* is a *Madang Nori* (traditional Korean outdoor performance) that is comprises of an exposition, conflict, crisis, climax, and finale.

Cheollyeop

천렵

A game catching fish

A folk game catching fish in creeks, mostly enjoyed by men in summer.

Cheollyeop was enjoyed during the spring or autumn, however was mostly enjoyed in the summer, including the three stages of *bongnal* (“dog days” of summer). The game was also about having fun in the water and was enjoyed as a way of getting the most out of the summer season. *Takjok* was a way of avoiding the summer heat by the waterside among male adults. The people enjoyed *Takjok* would place their feet in running water by the rivers or mountain



Cheollyeop | Lee Seo-ji | National Folk Museum of Korea

streams. *Seonbi* (literati) would write poetry and partook in games of Cheollyeop during *Takjok*.

As such, the possibility was likely that Cheollyeop was enjoyed during the summer season by the waterside. Until the 1950s, many people enjoyed catching fish in the Jeongneung Valley of Seoul, which was not a unique summer custom of the city, but rather a custom enjoyed nationwide. Many people still enjoy the summer season by the waterside while eating seasonal summer food, which is perhaps originated from the memories of Cheollyeop.

Having fish stew and alcoholic drinks with friends by the waterside, alongside a stew made of the fish freshly caught during Cheollyeop, was one of the seasonal customs to beat the summer heat. The people wanting to enjoy the peak of summer would go swimming in the creeks or rivers, catch fish using nets, and make hot fish stew using the fish they caught.

Cheollyeop was a custom of catching fish in creeks with a group of accompanying friends during the summer season and was primarily witnessed at the peak of bongnal during the sixth month of the lunar calendar, including, *Chobok* (the initial stage of the summer heat) and *Jungbok* (the middle stage of the summer heat). Cheollyeop was a way to play in the water, since it was enjoyed mostly in the water while catching fish to cook up a delicious stew to beat the summer heat, providing a chance to put the saying, “Iyeolchiyeol” (literally, to fight heat with heat) to practice.

Chukguk

축국

A football game using a leather ball

A football game using a leather ball.

Chukguk shares some characteristics with the modern version of football, where players kick the ball into a net. Chukguk is assumed to have been in-

roduced from China, before becoming a widespread phenomenon during the Goguryeo Period, according to the records in the Chinese Book of Tang, which describes how people at the time were good at playing Chukguk. The variation of the game popular during the Goguryeo Period was defined by predominately fierce contests, hinting at just how much the people enjoyed playing the traditional game as both a game and a form of martial arts.

The story from Silla, depicting Kim Yu-sin once playing Chukguk with Kim Chun-chu in front of his house, shows that Chukguk was popular among noblemen in Silla. It appears to have also been a winter sport, as the games were played during the first month of the lunar calendar.

There are just a few records on Chukguk from the Joseon Period. The reinforcement from the Ming Dynasty of China to Joseon, in the reign of King Seonjo, was also said to have enjoyed Chukguk. This shows its universality during the Ming Dynasty. The game was also described in Sesipungyo, written by Yu Man-gong in the mid-19th century, describing Chukguk fields as being mostly located around marketplaces, while pictures in the book capture young clerks jumping into the air and hurrying to kick the ball by rapidly scissoring their feet. The game ball is made of leather, stuffed with rice hulls or air and decorated with the feather of a pheasant. Players should keep the ball in the air as long as they can, before kicking it into the opposing net. As it was played in Tang Dynasty of China, the ball had to be kept in the air for the most of the time, instead of being rolled on the ground, with a net installed high above the ground. In short, players had to shoot the ball into the opponent's net, employing flashy foot skills while keeping the ball in the air.

Though Chukguk is similar to today's football in many aspects, it features the distinctive rule that the ball should stay in the air during game play with the net also being mounted at a fixed distance above the ground.

Chunhyangi Nori

춘향이놀이

A ritual calling back the spirit of Chun-hyang

A ritual calling back the spirit of Chunhyang on the first day of the Lunar New Year or Jeongwol Daeboreum.

Chunhyangi Nori is played by a small group of just-married or single women and is widespread across the country. It is typically played on the first day of the Lunar New Year or on *Jeongwol Daeboreum* (the first full moon of the lunar calendar), however there are also some exceptions. Though the name of the game may differ depending on the region or the village, Chunhyangi Nori is the most commonly used name. Women recite Chunhyang's name, age, date of birth, and birthplace, and pray for the spirit of Chunhyang to come down and visit them, hence the name, Chunhyangi Nori.

Despite single men joining women in the game within some regions, the major participants were primarily women. They usually play the game sitting in a room and making a circle to call out to the spirit of *Chunhyang*. One woman is chosen as a tagger and is seated at the center of the circle, who is typically a woman known for having some kind of connection with supernatural is generally selected. Even if there is such participant at first, someone that displays a reaction during the ritual is chosen as the central participant. In other cases, that role is determined following a round of *Gawi Barwi Bo*, or simply random selection.

The central participant begins by kneeling, bringing the hands together, and calls out to the spirit of *Chunhyang*. The women sitting in the circle also pray, calling out to *Chunhyang's* spirit. Once the hands are then brought apart, the players assume that the spirit of *Chunhyang* has descended upon her. At that moment, the central participant stands up and sings a song. In some regions, the tagger uses either a *sindae* (a long bamboo stick, a club, or chopsticks) or other accessories, such as a ring and a hairpin, or an empty steamer. Women sitting in the circle also enjoy dancing and singing along together. The other women might ask questions, especially that which they want to know about

the central participant's future. Examples of such questions related to when she will marry or where lost items can be found. Then, a reply is given in such a way as when a shaman delivers what a spirit has imparted. Women sitting around the circle also join the central participant in dancing and singing. The order of performing the Chunhyangi Nori and *Ganggangsullae* (a traditional circle dance) differs depending on the region.

Though the central participant gathers back her senses once the ritual has finished, some women remain in a state of entrancement and collapse or lose their minds. This led to women taking part in this ritual being scolded by the elderly upon being caught playing. The other women would pray for the entrancement to cease by pouring cold water or chanting spells.

Otherwise, they would slap her back or face, or occasionally try yelling at her. It was assumed consciousness was regained once the spirit of Chunhyang departed with the help of an external stimulus. The central participant would often not be able to remember what she had done or said during the ritual.

The Chunhyangi Nori was widespread across the country and enjoyed mostly by young women. Single women were especially curious about when they would get married and what their husband would be like, and often felt apprehensive about their futures. Chunhyangi Nori also seemed to play a role in resolving the psychological issues of single women. In addition, young women also had cathartic experiences during the process, where they had joined their peers in collective dancing and singing. Essentially, this served as a means for young women to liberate themselves, for if not a short time, from a dull and constrained daily life to embrace a sense of freedom.

Dari Segi Nori

다리 세기놀이

A game placing people intertwined by their legs and trying to pull themselves apart before the end of a song they sing together

A game intertwining two or more players by their legs while facing each other and removing the leg that is chosen by the end of a song sung by a particular player while counting their legs.

The Dari Segi Nori is also referred to as Dari Ppopgi Nori (a leg-pulling game). This is a favorite indoor game among children. The purpose of this game is to make the last player, who was unable to get their leg free, “it,” or give that player an additional penalty.

To play this game, more than two children sit face-to-face, while stretching and alternately placing their legs between the legs of the child on the opposite side. One player begins by singing a song and touching the leg from the far left or the far right. The player whose leg is touched last by the end of the song



Dari Segi Nori | Korearoot

bends the touched leg to pull it out. Afterward, the song begins once again with the remaining legs.

Usually, one player sings the song for the entire round, however, there are occasions where players take turns singing, with differing lyrics by region and individual. The songs that start with “*igeori jeogeori gakgeori*” are the most popular nationwide. Since legs are removed one at a time when the song ends, if there are many participants, the song should be repeated numerous times.

The person able to remove both legs first is declared the winner, while the other is declared the loser. That player then receives a penalty or is designated to be “it” in a different game, or players decide their turn for the next game they play according to the order of people able to remove their legs.

Dari Segi Nori is entirely different from, yet similar with rock-paper-scissors in that both are used to determine a player as “it” or the ranking. The song for the Dari Segi Nori starts with the simple lyrics of counting the legs in numerical order, but as the song is sung, it soon starts to include more playful wording and puns. Also, according to the region and the person who sings the song, some of the lyrics change into words with undecipherable meanings. This seems to be the result of children imitating words adults use, or the names of surrounding objects, with words they know.

Daribapgi

다리밟기

A custom crossing a bridge on Jeongwol Daeboreum

A custom crossing a bridge on Jeongwol Daeboreum.

Daribapgi is a traditional custom on *Jeongwol Daeboreum* (the first full moon of the lunar calendar), where bridges are crossed at night under the first full moon of the new year. It is one of the customs in honor of the full moon. It signifies the behavior of stepping on *daris* (bridges), an artificial object, using *daris* (legs),



Daribapgi | Lee Eok-yeong | National Folk Museum of Korea

part of the human body, and reflects the idea of using the shamanic power of words that have the same pronunciation. The belief behind it is that stepping on *daris* (bridges) will make the *daris* (legs) stronger and heal any leg-related disease. This custom, essentially, belongs to that of the shaman tradition. In reality, the leg-related disease here actually refers to Beriberi, which is caused by a Vitamin B1 deficiency and has symptoms of swelling and numbness in the legs while primarily developing mostly in regions whose staple is rice. Based on shamanic thinking, people of all classes and genders gathered and crossed fortress bridges, starting with the Gwangtong Bridge. This tradition is also called *Jubaekbyeong*, meaning to drive out hundreds of diseases.

As *Daribapgi* was an important custom on *Jeongwol Daeboreum*, people gathered together at the same time, causing a number of inconveniences and harmful consequences. This was described in *Jibongyuseol* written by Yi Sungwang (pen name: Jibong). It states, “Since couples walked together all night on *Jeongwol Daeboreum*, making streets chaotic, women were prohibited from partaking *Daribapgi*.” This prohibition, however, was replaced with an alternative that called for women to perform the bridge crossing on the 16th, the very next day. Also, *yangban* (the gentry of the Joseon Period) shunned crowded streets and walked bridges on the 14th, which came to be known as *Yangban Daribaphi Nori Nori*. This was a result reflecting the awareness that the nobles should be differentiated from the common class.

Paegwanjapgi, written by Eo Sukgwon, recorded the details of women crossing bridges. Women of the *yangban* class crossed bridges riding in a palanquin while women of the lower class walked bridges wearing *bigap* (a Chinese-style overgarment for women), while common women crossed bridges in a group at twilight. The record shows that the main participants of bridge crossing were women. Consequently, a group of stalkers would follow the women as they crossed bridges with the aim of committing inappropriate behavior. During King Myeongjong’s reign (1545 to 1567), it was said that these particular groups of stalkers were arrested and punished. *Haedongjukji* (Bamboo Branches in Korea) describes that during King Seongjong’s rule (1469 to 1494), bridge crossing was officially forbidden to prevent this kind of act from happening toward women. On the other hand, men, noble or lowly, were able to cross bridges as a group. Given that women continued to cross bridges following the ban, it was not in effect for long.

Donchigi

돈치기

A game throwing coins into a hole

A game throwing coins into a hole from a fixed distance to win the coins in the hole and also hit the coins outside the hole by throwing rocks.

Donchigi was usually played on *Seollal* (Lunar New Year's Day) or *Daeboreum* (the 15th day of a lunar month), which was probably because children rarely had the chance to get money, except on *Seollal* when they might receive *sebaet-don* (a gift of cash on New Year's Day). The playing method differs depending on the region, but there are common set of rules as explained below.

A big circle is drawn in a yard or vacant lot at a 2 - 3 m distance from a set line, from which players throw coins. In the big circle, a smaller circle is drawn, while some regions dig a hole instead. After drawing the general game area, players throw coins one by one, and the player who throws a coin into the hole wins. Other players are then ranked according to the proximity to the smaller circle and have to give 1 - 2 coins to the winner. The winner then throws coins to the small circle while holding the coins in the other hand. Afterward, depending on the place of the thrown coins, the winner can take the money or pay a penalty, before moving on to the next round. Here, one possible scenario is that the winner manages to throw all coins into the circle and then take all the coins, which rarely happens. The second scenario involves only some coins are tossed into the circle. Here, the winner can take coins only in the circle and has to hit the coins outside the circle, which is designated by others with a *mang* (palm-sized stone). The coins that the player hits will be given to the player. However, if the player hits a undesigned coin, the player has to pay a coin as a penalty. The third scenario is where one coin falls on to other coins. These coins go to the player without trying to hit the coins outside of the big circle. The fourth scenario is that there is no coin or no overlapped coin in the circle. A player is required to hit a coin that is designated by others with a *mang* in order to take the coin. The fifth scenario involves more than half of the coins are outside the big circle, leading to disqualification. Disqualified players are then out



Children playing Cheokjeon Nori | Postcard picture | Japanese Occupation | National Folk Museum of Korea

for that round without having a chance to throw a *mang*.

This process is carried out by children, starting with the winner and moving on to the next round. If there are no coins left, they begin from the first stage again.

Traditionally, money carried a greater significance from the children's point of view. However, there were few chances for them to have money except when receiving *sebaetdon*. Also, even if they could receive *sebaetdon*, it was not enough, leaving a desire to have more. They would be then forced to extort other children for their, however, this was not considered an option. The only chance they had was playing a round of Donchigi. Of course, there was the risk of losing money; nevertheless, they would actively participate at the thought of winning money, leading to less concern of the risk of losing. Children that were too young to play typically just watched the game, as it was clear that they would only lose. Compared to other games, this game provided a greater amusement amid the joy and sorrow that came along with betting money, despite the menial amount. The game was witnessed all across the country. However, as the school system grew more universal following the Korea's liberation, Donchigi was regarded as a speculative game and, therefore, banned. At the same time, as marble games gained popularity, children were hardly able to bet money directly. As a result, it remained as a game for adults to play among themselves. On a side note, India is also found to have a traditional game of a similar ilk.

Dongnae Jisinbapgi

동래 지신밟기

A custom fending off evil spirits for the well-being of the village and households

A custom fighting off evil spirits for the well-being, rich harvest and wealth of the village and its community for the year based on the folk religion of Dongnae, Busan (Designated in 1977 as Busan Metropolitan City Intangible Cultural Property No. 4.).

Dongnae Jisinbapgi is performed by *pungmuljaebi* (a troupe playing farmer's music) and *japsaek* (performers taking on various characters). The *pungmuljaebi* consists of around 20 performers, including two *soejabis* (*seonsoe* and *jongsoe*; the leading and following *kkwaenggwari* players), five *janggusus* (two-headed drum players), one *hojeoksu* (a pipe player), four *buksus* (drum players), two *jingsus* (gong players), and six *sogosus* (small drum players). The *japsaek* consists of around 11 characters, including *Sadaebu* (individuals of the literati class) and *Paldaebu* (a fun title referring to the *Sadaebu* class), *Saengwon* (a low-ranking government employee), *Wife of Saengwon*, *Chollo* (village elderly), *Chonnyeo* (country girl), *Posu* (hunter), *Hadong*, *Gaksi* (young wife), *Keunmeoseum* (head servant) and *Kkolmeoseum* (junior servant). The characters were added at a later period to create a more dramatic effect. A *gijabi* (a flag bearer) leads the march of the entire troupe.

Originally, Dongnae Jisinbapgi was about pacifying *jisin* (the earth gods) and driving out evil spirits for the well-being of households. However, today it is performed mostly as a form of entertainment. The performance actually begins on the 2nd of the first month of the lunar calendar and continues until *Jeongwol Daeboreum* (the first full moon of the lunar calendar), or until January 17th, in some cases. The *Jusan Jisinpuri* (offering sacrifices to the earth god of a sacred mountain) and *Dangsan Jisinpuri* (offering sacrifices to the village deity) are conducted prior to the troupe coming down to the village to conduct a simple *umulpuri* (offering sacrifices to the deity of wells) at the community well by the village entrance. After that, they visit each household to conduct the main *Jisinpuri* (offering sacrifices to guardian deities). The order of the main *Jisin-*

puri is as follows: the *Madang Nori* in the yard; the *Daecheongpuri* in front of the ceremonial table prepared before the *daecheong* (the main floor of a house); *Keunbangpuri* at the main room; *gakbangchijangpuri* at the rest of rooms; *jo-wangpuri* at the kitchen; *jangdokpuri* at the place storing crocks; *dojangpuri* at the storeroom; *maguganpuri* at the stable; *dwitganpuri* at the bathroom; *sapj-jakpuri* at the front gate; and *Jusinpuri* for the gods of alcoholic drink. When every *puri*, or rite is finished, the crew gathers around and enjoys the food and drink offered by the owner of the house, before moving on to the next house.

Dukkeobijip Jitgi Nori

두꺼비집 짓기놀이

A game making a tunnel-shaped house with dirt or sand

A game making cave-shaped houses by placing and patting wet dirt or sand over the back of one hand, and then slowly trying to remove it.

Also called, *Moraejip Jitgi Nori*, this iconic folk game of Korea has children making houses with dirt or sand. First, the player places wet dirt or sand on the back of one hand, and then pats the dirt with the other hand to mold it into a solid structure. The patting takes patience and attention since the hand below dirt needs to be remain still throughout the entire process in order to harden the dirt. As the player removes his or her hand slowly once the dirt becomes hard enough, then the small cave-like house is complete. Removing the hand, however, requires concentration so as to not cause the sand structure to crack or collapse upon carelessly removing it.

This game is called the *Dukkeobijip Jitgi Nori* as the children sing a song while patting the dirt that goes, “Mr. Toad, Mr. Toad! I’ll give you an old house, you give me a new one.” There are other songs sung while patting the dirt that feature other animals like magpies, snakes, storks, and cows. Many of the songs are about asking the toad and magpie animal totem for a new house. There is



Dukkeobijip Jitgi Nori | National Folk Museum of Korea

the likelihood that since the shape of the dirt houses look like the round back of a toad, the houses were often called toad houses, which led to children singing songs asking toads to build a new house. There are also many songs asking magpies to build a new house, as they known for being good nest builders. In fact, many kinds of animals that we find around us are mentioned in the lyrics. Regardless of the types of animals mentioned, every song reflects the children's wish for building new, well-built, solid house.

Today, the Dukkeobijip Jitgi Nori is still considered the most common game using dirt, due to the easy accessibility of dirt or sand found in schoolyards or playgrounds. Also, both boys and girls can enjoy playing it alone. This meaningful folk game is continually passed down among generations, as children learn the songs and the game in a natural setting with their siblings and friends.

Eokkaedongmu

어깨동무

A custom putting arms around each other's shoulders and walking side by side

A custom by children for fun by putting their arms around the shoulders while walking side by side.

Compared to the past, documents regarding this custom written under the Japanese Occupation are more commonplace. The best example is *Sangnoksu*, a novel written by Korean writer, Sim Hun. The book describes Eokkaedongmu as, "little girls in colorful dresses, as if they were adorned for the holidays, got together in the yards of schools while putting their arms around one another's shoulders." It is likely that this custom has a long history, given that it simply involves friends putting their arms on each other's shoulders. This has given way to the assumption that this activity naturally came into being. Despite Eokkaedongmu's origin remaining somewhat unknown, it is still carried out through the present day. It also remains popular as everyone has tried, at one

point or another, placing an arm around a friend as a child.

Eokkaedongmu is not witnessed among acquaintances, hinting at its significance between close friends. The sense of intimacy is very important as this custom requires one to comfortably put an arm around the shoulders of a friend, as they walk side by side, sometimes even singing together. This intimate aspect is used as a means of education to encourage children to place their hands or arms on each other's shoulders to help them learn the spirit of teamwork and build a sense of unity.

It requires only two people or more, yet it is quite rare that one puts aside time to do this particular act, since it is naturally done among friends on the way to school or on the way back home. There might be some occasions where a friend makes a request, but a more likely scenario is of a spontaneous nature where it naturally occurs while walking together. This explains the reason why this play does not have any specific rules or timing. Moreover, it also does not involve any specific activities and is simply an act among friends, where they enjoy a nice talk while walking together with their arms around each other's shoulders.

Eolleun

얼른

A traditional magic performance using sleight of hand and all sorts of tools

A traditional magic performance featuring a troupe of traveling artists performing unbelievable tricks that require a sleight of hand and other sorts of techniques.

Eolleun is a traditional Korean word referring to magical acts that have been passed down among traveling artists troupes, which are referred to as *hwansul* (magic arts) or *hwanhui* (dreamlike tricks) in literature. A performer accomplishes seemingly impossible feats through a sleight of hand, amid the use of various tools or animals.

Upon the arrival of the Joseon Period, *hwansul* was forbidden and surrounded with negativity, being also referred to as a *yosul*, meaning a wicked act. According to historical record, one *yangban* in the 16th century felt a sense of shame upon watching a *hwansul*, indicating that some of the ruling class at the time presumably regarded it as heretical.

The negative reputation of *hwansul* gradually changed during the 18th century during the late Joseon Period when *hwansul* was passed down among traveling artist groups under the name, Eolleun. Perhaps it was named after the Korean word, Eolleun, meaning quickly. Its transmission dissipated from the mid-20th century. However, in 2014, *Jinju Sotdaejaengipae* (a Sotdaetagi performance group in Jinju) was able to orchestrate a partial restoration for the first time. Kim Seon-ok, a master performer of *Jinju Samcheonpo Nongak*, was the first to present the magic art called Eolleun in September and November of 2014, with content based on his own memories. The master performer took up the limelight to display tricks, including manifesting a coin upon a folding fan, spraying off shreds of wet paper using a fan, manifesting an egg inside of an empty black bag, and hatching chicks inside of two cylindrical tin cans. Furthermore, he continues to restore the traditional Korean magic, Eolleun, in phases.

Kim Chun-hwa analyzed and categorized *hwansul* techniques into four types: the sleight of hand, utilization of special tools, the deployment of scientific principles, including chemistry and physics, and the work of advanced self-discipline. *Hwansul* in Korea does not deviate far from these categories. Most cases employ the sleight of hand or the use of special tools, while only a few tricks employ scientific principles.

Gamnae Gejuldanggigi

갑내 게줄당기기

A tug-of-war game using a crab-shaped rope

A variation of tug-of-war that has been passed down in Gamcheon-ri (Gamnae) of Bubuk-myeon, Miryang, Gyeongsangnam-do Province, where the team members hitch a rope, knotted in the shape of a crab, around the shoulders while facing opposite directions from each other, and then crawl forward tugging the rope.

Gamcheon was a stream known for a good haul of crab, and the local residents used to fight amongst other for a good spot catching the crabs. The elders of the community would then step forth in efforts to resolve the fighting and suggested a game of tug-of-war using a rope knotted in the shape of a crab to decide who gets the sought-after spot. The game essentially ended the hostility between rivaling community members and served as a means of competition that saw the beginning of the Gamnae Gejuldanggigi tradition. As crab production gradually increased over time, the game tradition was last celebrated in the 1920s before ceasing entirely. Following the country's modernization, the game soon made its return as a way to determine those that must mend the reservoirs or farm roads during the agricultural off-season, including holidays such as *Jeongwol Daeboreum* (the first full moon of the lunar calendar) and *Chirwol Baekjung*.

Unlike a typical game of tug-of-war where teams face each other, team members hitch a rope around the shoulders while facing opposite directions from each other, and then crawl forward tugging the rope. The rope also takes the characteristic, circular shape of a crab after being knotted together, differing from the straight rope used in tug-of-war, with long pieces of the rope dangling like crab legs. The rope is made of tough, straw rope with the "body" of the crab shape in a circle, two meters in diameter. The "legs" then extend from the body using side rope, varying from 8 m, 10 m, and 12 m in length, protruding from both sides of the circular figure. The number of side ropes vary upon the number of participants. The types of rope differ in size from a mini-

sized for two people, and a six-person rope for one team of three on each side, to a ten-person rope for two teams of five, and a twenty-person rope for two teams of ten. Tools required for game preparation and activity include a *jaksub-ari* (a rope holder); a *namugusi* (a trough used as a drum to excite the crowd); a *jige* (a Korean A-frame carrier used as musical instrument), a *daebal* (a bamboo screen used for the matches to fight over the crab catching spots), team flags (a dragon flag of *sanggam*, and a tiger flag of *hagam*), and *Nongjacheonhajidaebon* flags (a phrase meaning “agriculture is the foundation of the country”).

The game involves two teams: *sanggam* (east side of the town) and *hagam* (west town side of the town). Following the statements of community elders, game procedure was re-established from around 1970, and currently is comprised of three phases including *apnori* (pre-game), *bonnori* (main event [*gejuldanggigi*]), and *dwitnori* (post-game). *Apnori* commences with *bakssi halmae dangsanje*, which is followed by *teobalgi*, *jeotjuldirigi*, *nongbarinori*, *pangut*, *teoppaeatgi ssaum*, and *gejureorugi*. Those of the community playing the game visit *bakssi halmaesadang* (a shrine dedicated to the spirit of *bakssi halmae*) with a group of *pungmulkkun* (a farmers' band) in the early morning hours to perform *dangsanje* (a ritual) for the well-being and prosperity of the community. After that, they move to *jangseungbaegi* (the location where the game is held) and perform another ancestral rite. Next, the crowd sings *oto jisinpuri* (a song praising the five gods of the land, protecting all directions) and perform *teobalgi* (a ceremony to protect the ground from evil spirits). Finally, they dance *Miryang deotbaegi* to add excitement and place the side ropes on the holder in tandem with the *apsori* (leading chants). Meanwhile, *nongbarinori* starts in the main yard, where one person sits down with two more people laying down on each side and tries to use his or her core strength to stand up as the two laying down grab onto each arm. The strongest member of each team is then deemed as the *sunongbu* (head farmer) as they parade the grounds on the arms of two men, tangling their arms together to form a chair, or simply enjoy the moment by singing *Miryang Arirang* in tempo with the sound of beating *namugusi*. *Pungmulkkuns* carry *jiges* on the back and add to the beat by beating sticks on the *jiges*, commonly called *jigemokballori*. After the fun and celebrations are had, the *teoppaeatgi ssaum* begins. As a game played prior to *gejuldanggigi*, the goal of *teoppaeatgi ssaum* is to fight for the advantage of getting to choose the better starting point main game. The *sunongbu* of both teams then put a short two-person rope around their necks and engage in a game of tug-of-war.

Once a winner is determined, the crowd excitedly marches around the yard



in a circular motion to the music of *pungmulkkuns*, before the main event of the *gejuldanggigi* finally begins. The *Juldogam* (judge) sounds a gong to initiate the start of the game, which is mostly comprised of twenty people. Ten players from each team put side ropes around their necks after taking their positions on each side. Once the gong is struck, the players crawl forward on their hands and feet like plowing cows, tugging forward as hard as they can. Game time is determined by a count of a hundred, approximating three minutes, and the team that is able to pull the rope further over to their side from the centerline during the given time is declared the winner. If the first game ends in a tie, they play two more games to decide the winning team. The *dwitnori*, or “*hwa-dongnori*,” takes place following the completion of the game. The losing team is then seated on the ground, while the winning team marches around the yard in song and dance, before going standing the other team up to dance together at the finale.

Ganggangsullae

강강술래

A song and dance with people in a circle

A traditional folk game enjoying songs, dances, and other games while moving in a circle that mostly involved women on Jeongwol Daeboreum or Chuseok in the southwest coastal region of the country.

Ganggangsullae was designated as an intangible cultural property of Korea, effectively standardizing its structure to preserve its authenticity and entertainment value in the generations to come. Currently, Ganggangsullae is transmitted as a game encompassing a circle dance and other games for entertainment.

Ganggangsullae also refers to a series of folk songs to be sung during the circle dance with not only pre-determined chants, but also impromptu songs comprised of leading and following chants. The songs can be enjoyed in many



Ganggangsullae



Jiwabagi

Ganggangsullae | Jindo, Jeollanam-do Province | National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage

ways, according to the excitement and mood of the atmosphere and the person leading each song. Anyone can sing *apsori* (leading chants) during Ganggangsullae, and the songs can be sung while going around, or in turn between groups. The choruses of Ganggangsullae are shorter than other folk songs for amusement, and therefore easy to learn and sing, bringing everyone together. Thanks to the short choruses, the narrative of *apsori* can be continued in following verses easily. Naturally, the lyrics of many Ganggangsullae songs are rich in storytelling. Every *apsori* is followed by choruses promoting a harmonious imbalance of melodies of the leading chants.

Communities express their feelings through song. The lives of women singing Ganggangsullae are reflected in the lyrics, as these songs serve as a means to try and accept the pain and despair in the lives of women as part of their destiny. Inspired by the continuous relationship between people and nature in rural areas, the lyrics also offer praise of the beauty of nature. The songs go on to express their feelings in both a direct and indirect manner that ultimately leads to the wisdom of people to endure and overcome hardship being well reflected in the lyrics as well.

The narrative of Ganggangsullae songs can be categorized into official expressions and contextual expressions. Official expressions describe the feelings of women playing Ganggangsullae, the atmosphere of the scene, and their hopeful sentiment and wishes, whereas contextual expressions are primarily about love. Most of the love songs are conversations between lovers, or are about the feelings of joy, loneliness, longing, or despair that commonly accompany love. The lyrics of Ganggangsullae are a good example of typical Korean sentiment reflected in folk songs.

Also, the pains in women's lives are well described in the lyrics, mainly deriving the hardships of daily life, conflict between mothers and daughters-in-law, and longing for their own mothers' love. There is a common sentiment of accepting their fate in the songs regarding the regret about the life lived among women. Many lyrics of Ganggangsullae are about flowers and the moon. The flowers represent the lives of people living in harmony, or life itself, while also capturing both an artistic and objective symbolism in the circle of nature that represents the lives of humble women yearning for their lovers. The moon, on the other hand, is the symbol of longing, connecting separated lovers, while serving as a poetic materialization of the feeling of loss.

Gangneung Sacheon Hapyeong Dapgyo Nori

강릉 사천 하평 답교놀이

A custom predicting the yearly harvest while crossing a bridge

A folk custom played in Hapyeong-ri of Sacheon-myeon, Gangneung, Gangwon-do Province, every February 6th of the lunar calendar involving villagers cross the bridge in front of the Hapyeong Village as they wish for a good harvest.

Gangneung Sacheon Hapyeong Dapgyo Nori commences with a *darigut* (a shamanic ritual for *darijipgi*) before a 5 m tall gate made of *songari* (pine tree branches) at the entrance of the bridge. The gate is a shamanic symbol that prevents misfortune. Every participant of the *daribapgi*, or *Hwaetbulssaum*, must pass through the gate to participate in the events.

Darigut is the first stage of Hapyeong Village's *daribapgi* ceremony on *Jomsangnal* (February 6th of the lunar calendar). The *sangsoe* (leader) of the *nongakdae* (village folk band) takes a bow before the offering at the *seonghwangdang* (village shrine) in front of the entrance. The *sangsoe* recites *gosaban* starting with, "Come forth! Come forth! *Seonangnim* (a spirit protecting the village), come before us. We are joined by *Guksaseonang* (another name of *Seonangnim*), now in the month of February...", before the crowd moves to the bridge. The *nonggisu* (flag bearer) leads the march, and a *taepyeongso* (a wind instrument) player, along with the *sangsoe* and *nongakdae*, follow in line. The band then heads toward the bridge, playing music led by the *sangsoe*. At the bridge entrance, the *sangsoe* shouts in a loud voice, "*Sullyeongsu*, please grant us a good harvest when we cross this bridge on *Jomsangnal* of February, in the year of OO." The rest of the band and torch bearers respond with a, "Hooray!" and the *jegwans* (operators of the ritual) place a cow's head and other offerings facing the east and take a bow, while the other villagers follow in suit with a bow as well. Next, the *sangsoe* beats *soegarak* (musical beats played by the *sangsoe*) and recites, "Oh wow! What a wonderfully made bridge! Let us make our way



Geummun



Daljip

Gangneung Sacheon Hapyeong Dapgyo Nori | Gangneung, Gangwon-do Province | National Folk Museum of Korea



Heading to the bridge

Gangneung Sacheon Hapyeong Dapgyo Nori |
Gangneung, Gangwon-do Province | National Folk Museum of Korea

across,” then the others repeat in chorus. When the band reaches the middle of the bridge, they call *sullyeongsu*, saying “*Sullyeongsu*, please cross this bridge on the *Jomsangnal* of February in the year of OO and grant us a good harvest,” before continuing the bridge crossing. The villagers holding torches follow the *nongakdae*, wishing only for good fortune for the year and for their legs to remain in good health.

The second stage is *soejeolgeum*. It means *soegyeorum*, a musical duel between the *sangsoes* of Hapyeong Village and Jilli Village. They use every 12 *Chae Garak* (Twelve-strike Rhythm) of *Hapyeongnongak* (folk music of Hapyeong Village) and put their skills on display. The *soegararak* includes *ilche*, *ichae*, *samchae*, *sachae*, *gillori*, *gutgeori*, and *gusikgillori*.

Their rhythms are fast with simple 3/4 and 4/4 times, but are distinguished by melodies using 7 to 8 rhythms. Most *soegaraks* repeat a single melody at length.

The third stage is a battle of stones called *Seokjeon*, where people are divided into two teams and throw stones at each other, a tradition customarily held on *Jeongwol Daeboreum* (the first full moon of the lunar calendar) that involved Hapyeong villagers throwing small walnut-sized stones to imitate a battle. This

custom, however, is no longer carried out due to safety concerns as people often got injured in the past.

The fourth stage is a *hwaetbulssaum*. During the daytime on *Jomsangnal*, young villagers create torches with bush clovers or straw according to the number of family members. That night, they go out into the field with the *nongakdae* and form two battle formations, representing the two villages. At moonrise, a leader of one team shouts, “*Sullyeongsu!*” to the other team, before the other team retorts with a harsh response, “*kkollaekkollae!*” (a word used for mocking). After a mutual exchange of harsh words, towels are then wrapped around their heads, torches are lit, and the teams march forward upon the start of the music. One team shouts, “Bring it on!” and takes the initial swing of the torches, with the other team swinging back. As the battle ensues with both teams trying to hit and knock down one another with their torches, people naturally start to surrender. The team losing the most members ultimately loses the battle. The battle is then concluded with the putting out of the torches. Essentially, two torch battles are carried out, with the villagers and children engaging each other separately. It is traditionally believed that the losing village will suffer a bad harvest, and the winning village will enjoy a good harvest for the year. Following the torch battle, the villagers of the two villages cross the bridge to light a bonfire with the used torches, and then return to their villages to enjoy the rest of the night in celebration. A farming season for the year starts after the *Jomsangnal*, meaning that it is the last the day for fun and relaxation during the farming off-season. In the past, a rice wine called, *jomsangju*, was given to the *nongakdae*. *Jomsangju* was made from the rice donated by every household of the village to be enjoyed by every villager. In the past, there was a place called, *chogunbang*, or *dobang*, in the village, at which the *nongakdae* gathered. The wealthier households then became responsible for making *jomsangju*.

Garakji Chatgi Nori

가락지 찾기놀이

A hide-and-seek game using a garakji or other small objects

A game traditionally played indoors that involves girls or grown adult women trying to find a hidden garakji or other small objects.

This game is referred to as Garakji Chatgi Nori , but also goes by Garakji Gamchigi Nori. Other types of items can be used for the game, as well, which changes the name of the game. For example, the game is called Binyeo Passing when a *binyeo* (a hairpin) is used; Jongji Passing for *jongji* (a small dish); and *Kong Sumgigi* for a bean. The game is played by approximately ten women. First, someone has to be “it,” or the finder. The finder, also be called tiger or cat, then sits in the middle of the other players already sitting in a circle. The finder can either simply bow her head down, or cover her eyes. Other players then begin to sing a song while passing the *garakji* around.

The players pass the *garakji* under their skirts or knees to either their right or left. They have to conceal their movement from the finder while being careful not to drop the garakji. The passing stops when the song ends, or the finder says “stop.” The finder proceeds to look for the ring from that point on. Other players may try to confuse the finder with their words or actions. The finder focuses on the facial expression and posture of other players to find the keeper, and then point to the person she believes has the *garakji*. If the person is caught, she becomes the next finder. If not, the current finder continues as the finder for the next round. A penalty may also be given to the finder once unable to identify keeper correctly upon agreement prior to starting the game.

People who have played the game said they did so indoor when it was cold outside during the winter. They saw their mothers and grandmothers playing the game growing up as well, hinting at the game’s long beloved tradition.

When the game is played outdoors by kids, the hider buries a *garakji* made of a root or a stem of grass under the ground. The other kids then take turns poking at the ground once with a stick to try and find it. It is assumed that the game was initially played outdoors, before being modified to be played indoors later on, while the game rules were also adjusted accordingly.

Gawi Bawi Bo

가위바위보

A game showing one of three hand signs simultaneously to decide a winner

A game showing one of three pre-determined hand signs simultaneously to decide a winner.

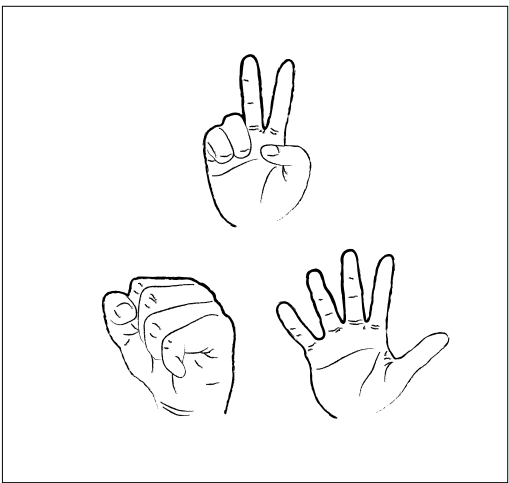
The game is named after the shapes of three hand signs. In Korea, a clenched fist is called *barwi* (a rock), while a fully-stretched, open hand is called *bo*, or *bo-jagi* (a wrapping cloth), and a half-closed hand with only two fingers (typically the thumb and index finger, or index and middle fingers) sticking out is called *garwi* (scissors).

As a game involving two or more people, all players shout in unison, “gawi, bawi,” before selecting one of the pre-determined hand signs and putting it forth during the final shouting of “bo!” For example, if one player shows *garwi* and another shows *bo*, *gawi* beats *bo* since scissors are able to cut through cloth, or paper. However, if one player shows *bo* against another player showing *barwi*, *bo* beats *barwi* since a cloth can wrap around a rock. Lastly, when a *barwi* goes up against *garwi*, *barwi* beats *garwi* since a rock can crush scissors. When two of the same hand signs are shown between a game of two players, or all three hand signs are shown between a game of three or more players, the game ends in a draw.

The game is normally referred to as *garwi*, *barwi*, *bo*, in Korea, while people having spent their childhood in the 1960s and 1970s would also refer to the game as *Muk Jji Ppa*, where *muk* means a rock, *jjj* means scissors, and *ppa* means wrapping cloth. *Muk Jji Ppa* includes additional rounds after a game of *Gawi Bawi Bo*, that gives the winner of *Gawi Bawi Bo* a chance to continue on the attack by selecting among the three hand signs and shouting either *muk*, *jjj*, or *ppa* according to the hand sign that was selected. For example, if the winner shouts *ppa* while showing the corresponding hand sign, and the opponent shows the identical hand sign in return, the opponent loses completely and the game is over. However, if the opponent shows one of the other hand signs, *muk* or *jjj*, he or she can then challenge the winner and the game moves on to



A arithmetic textbook featuring Rock, Paper, Scissors on the cover
National Folk Museum of Korea



Hands in the shape of "Gawi, bawi, bo" image

a third round. In this case, the opponent earns a chance to counterattack by selecting among the three hands signs and shouting either *muk*, *iji*, or *ppa*, as was done in the previous round by the winner. The game can continue on over several rounds, or may finish within the initial two rounds.

Although Gawi Bawi Bo can be enjoyed as a game in and of itself, it is typically used to determine the person who will be "it," or to split people into teams at the start of other games.

Geobuk Nori

거북놀이

A custom appreciating a rich harvest wearing a turtle-shaped cover

A custom about visiting houses while wearing a turtle shell made of sorghum leaves.

Geobuk Nori is known as a tradition performed within the inland local communities around the southern part of the Hangang River, including Pyeongtaek, Yongin, Icheon, and Yeosu of Gyeonggi-do Province, and Yesan, Cheonan, and Eumseong of Chungcheong-do Province. Recordings of the traditional game were left within the *Joseonui Hyangtoorak* (The Folk Games of Joseon, published in 1936), a sourcebook about social life, folk religions, and the Joseon Period customs. The book describes that it was performed on *Jeongwol Dae-boreum* (the first full moon of the lunar calendar) in Gwangju of Gyeonggi-do Province, Eumseong of Chungcheongbuk-do Province, and Yesan of Chungcheongnam-do Province. However, in most regions, it was carried out primarily during *Chuseok* (the harvest festival), hinting at it actually being more of a theatrical performance, rather than a game or a competition, that prays for fortune by visiting each house in the neighborhood, as can be similarly seen in *Jisinbapgi* (a tradition for fighting off evil spirits for the well-being of the village and households).

Geobuk Nori begins by creating a turtle. A week prior to Chuseok, stems and leaves of sorghum are collected. The leaves are then used not only for decorating the body of the turtle, but also for decorating the outfit of a *jillaabi* (a player) who carries the turtle. During the height of its popularity in Icheon, there were said to even be concerns that the sorghum harvest may be negatively impacted due to the excessive collection of its leaves. Although the Eumseong Village would sometimes use rice straws or tall flat sedges, the sorghum leaf remains the most commonly used material.

Stems are used as the frames for body parts, and leaves are used to wrap the frames. Typically, the turtle is an oval shape cover that can accommodate two teenagers. However, in the Osan and Yeosu areas, people make them larger to accommodate up to 4 - 5 people. A head and a tail are attached to the torso after being created separately, which are under the control of the person at the front and the end turtle.

Usually, children lead the creation of the turtle, visit each house for a performance, and are rewarded with food and rice in return. However, the structure of the activity, itself, significantly changed once adults joined in with renditions of farmers' music.

According to a field research survey, wishing for the well-being of each and every household was not the original intent for children to perform the play during *Chuseok*; rather, it was carried out in exchange for *songpyeon* (a half-moon-shaped rice cake) and other material rewards. In this sense, the purpose



A turtle of Pyeongtaek Geobuk Nori | Pyeongtaek, Gyeonggi-do Province | 2014 | Kim Jong-dae



A turtle of Osan Geobuk Nori | Osan, Gyeonggi-do Province | 2014 | Kim Jong-dae

of this tradition was not to wish for a good harvest, but to express gratitude the rich harvest. Also, the play, once a children's tradition, eventually became a tradition among adults with the addition of a *gut* (a shamanic ritual) amid farmers' music performances.

Geunettuigi

그네뛰기

A game swinging back and forth on a board hanging by ropes

A custom swinging back and forth on a board, hanging from a horizontal branch by two long ropes.

According to *Joseonui Hyangtoorak* (The Folk Games of Joseon, published in 1936) by Murayama Jijun, swings were enjoyed by young women on *Dano* (festival of the 5th of the fifth lunar month) in throughout Joseon. Also, the game was enjoyed on *Sarwolchopail* (Buddha's Birthday) and/or *Chuseok* (the harvest festival) by not only young women, but young men as well.

A swing consists of a board that hangs mostly from the branches of large pine trees or zelkova trees by two ropes made of straw or hemp. People sit or stand on it to enjoy swinging back and forth.

Geunettuigi, or Swings, can be conducted either by sitting or by standing upright on the board. One person takes the role of the *oegeunettwigi*, while the other two people facing each other on a board take the role of *ssanggeunettwigi* or *matgeunettwigi*. When there is only one swinger, the player repeatedly widens and narrows both arms while grabbing the ropes and kicking both legs to elevate the swing. Sometimes there are as many as three people standing on one board at once. In that case, the second swinger stands on the shoulders of the first, and the third stands on the shoulders of the second. The swingers must be able to balance out their weight in a unified manner. Additionally, there is a way of conducting Geunuttuigi called *Kkwabaegi* (a twist). Play-



Chuchyeonhaneun Moyang | Gisanpungsokdo (Replica) | National Folk Museum of Korea

ers twist their bodies while enjoying either *oegeunettwigi* or *ssanggeunettwigi*, twisting the ropes. The swinger or pairs swingers that take the longest time to untwist win the game. In general, *matgeunettwigi* is played for fun after the main *oegeunettwigi* event.

Occasionally, Geunettuigi is enjoyed as a competition when played among a group. The foremost method of competition is to set a branch or flower at a reachable location as a target, and then try to kick or bite it. Another way is to measure the power of the swinging motion by kicking a bell or a pinecone hanging on top of a tree in front of the swing. The swinger that gets the highest by grabbing the ropes and kicking their legs wins. Another way of measuring height is by kicking a bell hanging on top of a long pole in front of a swing set. Swingers continue to pull the rope holding the bell to measure the highest position. Finally, there is a way of measuring the rise from the initial position using a long rope with gradations tied to the pedal of a swing, a more recent variation of competition. Overall, the forms of competition require the body's flexibility, as well as arm and leg strength to earn points.

Historically, the tradition of Geunettuigi, and the swings themselves, were used for physical training long ago for extravagant and grandiose entertain-

ment of the noble class during the Goryeo Period, and for competition among commoners during the Joseon Period. In Korea, Geunettuigi had the strong characteristic of a game for commoners, before evolving into a kind of accomplishment similar to acrobatics by some skilled players. The game was therefore enjoyed by a wide range of people, from the *yangban* (the gentry of the Joseon Period) class to commoners with a variety of competitive variations. In later periods, Geunettuigi was mostly enjoyed by women. The game, however, has earned huge popularity in recent days through large-scale competitions and outdoor hands-on events at local festivals and anniversary celebrations. There are popular sayings about Geunettuigi, including such anecdotes as “Geunettuigi on *Dano* keeps the mosquitos away during the summer,” and “Geunettuigi helps you beat the summer heat.” Also, since the game was mostly played on *Dano*, the day represented the highest positive energy of the year, encouraging people to believe that couples that swung together would be granted with more children. Both married and unmarried women enjoyed Geunettuigi all day long on *Dano*. It was helpful in strengthening the muscles in their legs, lower back, and buttocks, leading to an improved vitality throughout the whole body. In the past, Korean women had to stay indoors and behave modestly, yet Geunettuigi would allow them to move their bodies more dynamically and instinctively, essentially helping them release suppressed energy and lead more active lives. Swinging back and forth was enjoyable while boosting the spirit by raising one’s energy to greater heights.

Geurimja Nori

그림자놀이

A game playing with shadows casted by candlelight or lamplight

A game making various shadows casted by placing and moving hands in front of candlelight or lamplight.

Geurimja Nori is a nationwide game played by one or multiple players, mostly during winter at night until electricity became widely used. A shadow generally reflects the exact contour of an object. However, depending on the direction of the light, the shadow may increase, or decrease, in size, or even change shape entirely. Since the inception of fire, different shadows generated by the light has been interesting enough to stimulate human curiosity. The form of this game was simple mimicking at first, and gradually developed into a more complex game using paper, wooden sticks, and other props. Eventually, Geurimji Nori, or shadow puppetry, emerged.

Korean traditional shadow puppetry is comprised of *Manseokjung Nori* or *Pail Nori*. This game began as a play making straight-forward shapes, before developing into an art, to this day, the game continues crossing the boundary between play and art. A candle light, an overhead projector, or a slide projector, provides a luminous source, while a screen, or a wall, is used to cast shadows. The darker a surrounding is, the clearer a shadow becomes. Therefore, blocking other lights is crucial. Next, several shapes are attempted using only one hand or both hands. At first, players create a shape and name it. After becoming familiar with creating shadows, they start to guess what others have made, or compete to create an improved shadow of a certain animal or an object. Simple tools, including wood or dishes, can be used to cast a shadow part that cannot be created with the use of hands. Moreover, the more skilled of players can perform Geurimja Nori much easier.

The West traditionally shunned the dark, regarding it a chaos and an evil, or possessing a demonic energy, while Egypt worshiped the sun, calling their king, "pharaoh," meaning "the son of the sun." On the other hand, the East worshiped the moon, which breaks the darkness, generating numerous games and traditions requiring moonlight. One good example could be the lunar calendar, which was more commonly used than the solar calendar in the East.

Today, electricity overwhelms not only darkness, but also shadows. Accordingly, children feel fear and dread of the darkness, rather than coziness; cloudy weather scares people, making them frivolous of the dark; and the night keeps people in rural areas from leaving their homes. Geurimja Nori can then serve as a medium for recovering that lost sense of the dark, providing an opportunity to restore this cultural tradition.

Gicha Nori

기차놀이

A game pretending to ride a train with a rope

A game using a rope to create a train and going around pretending to actually be riding a real train.

Gicha Nori from children's attempts to mimic wondrous objects, similar to that of *Gamatagi*, riding in a sedan chair, and *Maltagi*, riding on a horse. Following the introduction of the train at the end of the Joseon Period, the game naturally came to be and was popular among children. The first train in Korea was launched as the construction of Gyeongin Railroad Line was initiated to connect Noryangjin of Seoul and Jemulpo of Incheon in September 1899. The next year, the Hangangcheolgyo Railroad Bridge was built to finish the construction of Gyeongin Line, while the subsequent construction of the Gyeongbu (Seoul-Busan) Line and Gyeongui (Seoul-Sinuiju) Line, in 1905 and 1906 respectively, was soon completed. Finally, Gyeongwonsan Line and Honam (Seoul-Mokpo) Line were opened in 1914, completing a railroad network linking all corners of the country. This led to the train being at the center of the public eye from the end of the Joseon Period to the mid-period of the Japanese Occupation. As children had already enjoyed a similar game, *Kkorittagi* (Catch the Tail), Gicha Nori eventually settled as a game involving the mimicking of a train. The time of its inception was therefore assumed to be the around the Japanese Occupation, not long ago.

To play this game, a long oval is created by connecting straw ropes, clotheslines, or jumping ropes, without anyone being designated as "it." The winner of rock-paper-scissors acts as the first driver, before other children eventually take successive turns acting as the driver. The game involves the driver, first, placing the rope near the naval and holding up using both hands, while other children simply hold onto the rope. Afterward, the child at the end tightens the rope, throwing it over their back. If children stand too close together, it becomes difficult to walk, so they are required to space themselves out. Once all children are ready, they move forward while holding the rope using both hands in a way that the rope is stretched tightly, while making train sounds of train going,



Gicha Nori | Lee Eok-yeong | National Folk Museum of Korea

“Chooga-chooga, choo-choo!” The whole neighborhood acts as the stage for the game, while the corners of alleys are designated as stops, calling them one of the major cities, such as Seoul, Daejeon, Daegu, Busan, or Gwangju. After they reach a certain stop, the driver would say, “This is Seoul Station. Please disembark safely.” One or two players then proceed to get off the train, as if actual passengers disembarking from a train. When they arrive at the starting point after going through all stops, they choose the next driver and play again.

Given that this simple game has been passed down among children up until the present day, this game is quite entertaining. The game provides a sense of fun that involves children moving around together, using tied up rope as a medium. This kind of interest in such a simple game isn’t common, yet since children find even the smallest of changes interesting, Gicha Nori can serve as a satisfying game alternative.

Gijisi Juldarigi

기지시줄다리기

A tug-of-war game using a centipede-shaped rope

A game using a centipede-shaped rope to drive out bad luck from the centipede-shaped landscape and began among merchants while also played by tens of thousands of people in the marketplace. The rope is made by connecting two 100-meter long male and female ropes and decided a winning team among one representing the upstream area and the other, the downstream.

There is no specific record about the origin of Gijisi Juldarigi, however, there are records about the game in *The Legend Behind Gijisi Juldarigi* by Gu Ja-seong, and a chapter titled, *Gijisi Juldarigi*, in *A Collection of Legends from the Chungnam Region* by Choe Mun-hwi. According to the books, the geography of Gijisi took the shape of a centipede, after having been cursed by a thousand-year-old centipede. The residents would play tug-of-war using a centipede-shaped rope every leap year at the area representing the waist of the creature as an attempt to suppress its power. Also, another record that exists in the book, *Joseonui Hyangtoorak* (The Folk Games of Joseon, published in 1936), by Murayama Jijun. The section of the book on the tug-of-war of Dangjin-gun describes, "The residents believe a legend that playing tug-of-war with a centipede-shaped rope would prevent illness for the rest of the year." This naturally leads to the assumption that Gijisi Juldarigi was played to prevent bad luck, while unlike in other regions, it was played on mountain ridges or peaks.

Since Gijisi Juldarigi originated at Giji Market, the game was played by merchants or peddlers. It seems the game began at markets opened at along the ridges of mountains as a way of entertainment and to prevent bad luck, which was attributed to the centipede-shaped landscape. The game eventually became a commercial event for merchants and was played at various locations. However, since being designated as a cultural asset, the host and purpose of the game has changed. The Gijisi Juldarigi became a type of ritual to wish for a rich harvest, using a rope that represents a dragon, and was played at a barley field in front of Heungcheok-dong. Later on, thanks to a favorable nationwide



A female rope and a male rope



Dangje

Gijisi Juldarigi | Dangjin, Chungcheongnam-do Province | 2015 | National Folk Museum of Korea

reception, the Gijisi Juldarigi Museum and a designated tug-of-war field were built in the south of Gijisi-ri in 2013, and the game has been played at the field ever since.

Gijisi Juldarigi is played on days believed to be free from evil spirits, from the end of February to early March of the lunar calendar each leap year. In 1960, the game was played for three days from March 26 – 28.

The making of the rope used for Gijisi Juldarigi starts a month before the event at a separate place, and the completed rope is moved to the event site. Originally, the rope was made by 15 people with 3,000 *mots* (a Korean measurement unit to count straw) of straw (6,000 *mots* by way of current measurement). The rope is three meters in circumference, 120 to 130 meters in length. First, a thin *dongaba* (a strong rope) is made with 30 straws, while a medium-sized rope is made with 50 strands of *dongaba*, and a *wonjul* (a main rope) is made with three medium-sized ropes. In total, two *wonjuls* are made, each representing the upstream or downstream area.

Then, three *jeotjul* (side ropes), made with 30 straws and 40 to 60 meters in length, are attached to each *wonjul*. The *jeotjul* are attached to the middle, therefore, six *jeotjul* per *wonjul* are made.

Finally, five ropes, made with 15 straws and 10 meters in length, are attached to each *jeotjul*.

The male rope has a folded head, and the female rope has a round head. As a result, the heads are made with 300 thin ropes, 1.8 meters in circumference. A centipede-shaped rope is then made by connecting the male and female ropes.

The entire process of creating a 150-meter long large rope using 300 *dongabas*, each made of 30 straws, consist of *Jul Deurigi* (twisting the ropes more tightly), *Jul Yeokkgi* (tying up the ropes as one on a flat ground), *Jul Malgi* (rolling in the ropes to make one large rope), *Mokjul Mandeulgi* (making of the round head of the large rope), *Jeotjul Maegi* (attaching side ropes) and *Kkongjijul Mandeulgi* (attaching small ropes to the side ropes).

A dedicated machine is used for the making of *wonjuls*. A *wonjul* is made with three medium-sized ropes, each made with 50 strands of *dongabas*. When the ropemaking is complete, hundreds of people move the ropes to the event site to the sound of a village folk band. First, the upstream team starts moving the male rope, before the downstream team follows the first group with the female rope. At the site of the event, the heads of the two ropes are tied with a *binyeojang* (a long log fixating two large ropes), and then the ropes are unfolded



Juldarigi
Gijisi Juldarigi | Dangjin, Chungcheongnam-do Province | 2015 | National Folk Museum of Korea

for the battle. Tens of thousands of people start pulling the ropes for about five minutes, before a winning team is decided after the ropes are dragged about two to three meters to one side. Lottery drawings take place after the battle to distribute prizes for the villages represented by the winning team. A yellow cow is given to a village as the first prize, and money and farmer's flags are given to other villages as the prizes from second to fifth place.

Gijisi Juldarigi features more so the characteristics of a commercial folk game for merchants and a way to prevent calamity, rather than a folk game for farmers to wish for a rich harvest.

Gimpo Tongjin Dure Nori

김포 통진 두레놀이

A custom imitating working on a farm

A folk custom reenacting the one-year process of farming based on “dure” in Tongjin-eup of Gimpo, Gyeonggi-do Province.

The field of Gimpo is a vast plain, allowing for the development of agriculture long ago. *Dure* (a farmers’ cooperative group) was first formed around the late Joseon Period through the culture of rice farming and was active in Tongjin of Gimpo as well. At the time, Gimpo was the only cropping area that was weeded three times a year. Hoes were typically used for the first two times, while hands were used for the third, and last, time. Additionally, a *dure* of 20 to 30 members was necessary when hoes were used. This tradition was temporarily discontinued during the Japanese Occupation but resumed once Korea had won back its independence. However, during the mid-1960s, it almost disappeared as a new *dure* for each village was formed, many of which involved playing *pungjang* (farmers’ music) and singing the *Nonmaemsori* song. This development resulted from the introduction of a weeding device in the 1960s, and herbicide in the 1970s. This was due to the primary mission of *dure* being weeding, a practice that was no longer efficient for farming.

A new light gleamed upon the once forgotten tradition around the 1980s. As part of the “Restoring Ours” campaign, the youth organization, 4-H, and various societies for women assisted farmers in learning traditional music. Also, the lyrics of *nongyo* (farmer songs) were collected and arranged, including the *Duresori* song (Jo Nam-chang) of Seoam-ri in Tongjin. In the early stages, they identified mainly farmers’ songs, presenting Gimpo Tongjin Dure Nongyo at the 28th Korea National Folk Arts Contest. Later, they renamed the custom as the Gimpo Tongjin Dure Nori, using the word, *Dure Nori*, to encompass *nongyo*, melodies, and motions depicting the whole farming process, traditions, and humor. Behind this change was the effort to convert the activity of the few performers of farmers’ music and women’s societies into the culture of Tongjin. Eventually, it was designated as intangible cultural heritage No. 23 of Gyeong-



Daedong Nori | Gimpo, Gyeonggi-do Province | 2006 | National Folk Museum of Korea

gi-do Province in 1998.

Gimpo Tongjin Dure Nori consists of 12 *madangs* (chapters), not only about weeding, but also about the whole year's worth of dure. It reproduces the entire series of processes in farming, including plowing and harrowing rice fields, sowing rice seeds, growing rice in a seedbed, planting rice using a direct seeding technique, weeding the rice field three times, reaping and threshing the rice, and piling up seoms (about 180 liters) of rice. Between the phases, other activities are added to strengthen the character and humor of the game, including a rice seedbed ritual to wish for a rich harvest, a *Mulkkodatum*, and a *Dure Ssaum*. Moreover, the act of entrance was created as a new formality in restructuring the tradition for the competition.

Gisebae

기세배

A custom bowing with a village flag to another village flag of a higher ranking village

A tradition of ranked villages gathered together and bowing with a village flag to another village flag of a higher-ranking village on Jeongwol Daeboreum.

Regarding the origin of Gisebae, there are two theories: one theory says that it was started by combining a harvest ceremony and a military custom in the ancient capital of Mahan (1 AD – 3 AD) and Baekje (18 BC – 660 AD); another argues that it was started by the Choi brothers in Jeongeup of Jeollabuk-do Province. However, this has yet to be proven. At any rate, the main place of cultural transmission, Geumma of Iksan, performed Gisebae on every *Jeongwol Daeboreum* with Sangdae Village of Geumma serving as the oldest village among 12 villages. Prior to this event, a *nongakdae* (farmers' music troupe) of each participating village staged *Jisinbapgi* for fighting off evil spirits and wishing for everyone's well-being by playing their instruments and visiting houses, starting from the 3rd day of the month. The collected money and goods through the *nongakdae* performance were used for the community and Gisebae.

Gisebae is a tradition using village flags that represent a particular village, where one village expressing courtesy by bowing with a village flag to another village flag of a higher-ranking village. The content of Gisebe is similar to that of other rituals, which also use farmers' flags in the regions with a farmers' cooperative group around *Baekjung*, however the difference between them is the timing. Gisebe was usually performed in regions with an active farmers' cooperative group, leading the tradition. In addition, it is a play of unity where the members of several villages participated. Gisebe may also include, *Gissaum* (flag battle).

During customary play, villagers while formulate the identity of their village, which differentiate them from other villages, as well as the sense of oneness as a village. Interactively, however, they build cooperative relationships and solidarity with other villages.





Gisebae | Gongju, Chungcheongnam-do Province | National Folk Museum of Korea

Gitdae Seugi Nori

깃대 세우기놀이

A game grabbing dirt from a mound without knocking down a wooden stick on top

A game consisting of removing dirt from a mound without knocking down a wooden stick, fixed in the middle of the mound.

Gitdae Seugi Nori uses fine earth as sand or mud is not suitable for game play. Three or four people can play this game together, sometimes in teams. Traditionally, the game was played in a vacant lot or at the corner of a playing field. It was called by various names, including *Gitdae Sseureotteurigi* (Knocking Down a Stick), *Heuk Ttameokgi* (Getting the Dirt), and *Heuk Ppaeatgi* (Taking the Dirt).

In order to play this game, players select a location and gather the dirt high into a high mound, before sitting around it. After the dirt is gathered to make a small mountain with a peak, a wooden stick is placed in the middle of it. Following a round of rock-paper-scissors to determine the sequence of play. During a turn, the players can take any amount of dirt from the pile, using both or either hand, which should be determined beforehand. As the players take some of the dirt, the pile gradually gets smaller to the point where the stick falls down and the game ends. At first, the players may try to grab a large amount of dirt, however, as the pile grows smaller and the stick is about to fall, players will try to take the least amount possible. Players begin checking all the possible angles to carefully determine from where to take the dirt, since the point of the game is not the amount of dirt taken, but rather, who is the one to accidentally make the stick fall. Even a player who has taken the largest amount of dirt may lose the game if the player knocks down the stick. In this case, the player receives a predetermined penalty, or is simply designated as the last player in the next game.

Due to the gradual urbanization over the years, games using dirt are almost non-existent. In fact, possible issues with hygiene often cause children to rarely play with dirt even if it is around. As such, modern-day children are strangers to this game, despite it being commonly found during the 1970s and 1980s.

Gochang Dapseong Nori

고창 답성놀이

A custom putting stones on a woman's head and walking along a castle wall

A custom performed by women setting stones on their head and walking in a row on the wall of a fortress during an intercalary month of a leap year.

Gochang Dapseong Nori is an occult practice of treading on a fortress wall during a leap day. The records about it only appear in recent ethnographic research, without a clearly identified origin or source. One record is found in a book, *Joseonui Hyangtoorak* (The Folk Games of Joseon, published in 1936), an archive about the folk traditions of Joseon published in 1941 during the Japanese Occupation. It describes, “there are many people carrying a stone on their head and walking around a fortress during the intercalary month in the regions with old fortresses, such as Gochang, Jeollabuk-do Province. They believe that they can avoid disaster by circumnavigating the fortress three times, which has also been observed in Kaesong of Hwanghaebuk-do Province and Yeonggwang of Jeollanam-do Province.” Based on the record, it seems to be a common tradition of women in regions with old fortresses.

The only Dapseong Nori that has been passed down to this day is the Moyangseong Dapseong Nori of Gochang, Jeollabuk-do Province. It was started when Lee Hang, the *hyeongam* (small county magistrate) of Gochang finished an extensive renovation of an old forsaken fortress called *Moyang* after the Japanese Invasion of Joseon in 1597.

Gochang Dapseong Nori starts with participants entering the Gongmungmun Gate, the north gate, balancing a palm-sized stone on their head, before going to walk on the east wall. When they are on *deungyangnu* (bartizan), they open and close its windows three times to wish longevity, health, and an easy passage into eternity. They then wish for a safe passage again at the six battlements of the Moyangseong Fortress. To do so, they bring a handful of personally-cultivated grains as an offering for safe passage into the afterlife. Moreover, they perform three deep bows saying, “Take this for safe passage.” It was told that walking the full circle of Moyangseong Fortress would cure a



Gochang Dapseong Nori | Gochang, Jeollabuk-do Province | National Folk Museum of Korea

leg-related disease, two circles would guarantee longevity and health, and three circles would bring an easeful passage into eternity. Also, there was a belief that going only two times or dropping a stone while walking would bring misfortune. Thus, people usually circle the fortress three times very carefully, without dropping a stone.

Goeulmodum

고을모듬

A game finding names of villages from randomly opened pages of a book

A game to decide a winner by summing up the names of goeuls with the letters in a randomly opened page of a book and asking questions regarding the goeuls.

Goeulmodum was made to teach children the names and locations of *goeuls* (villages) in an age without transportation or long-range communication methods. It also could develop enough popularity as only the children who had learnt Chinese characters at a *seodang* (village school) could play the game.

A more recent version of the game can be seen today that uses a complete map of Korea. For example, while playing, a person says, “Incheon,” and the other people find the city on the map. The first finder then gets to say the name of another city, and so on. Another way to play goeulmodum was to make as many names as possible with the given characters in a randomly opened page of a book. For example, if the players found a sentence, “Areum-daun yeonghoniyeo, geu juineun nuguinga?” (Oh beautiful soul, who is your master?) They can select the city name, Yeongju, by reorganizing the letters in the sentence (yeong of yeonghon and ju of juin). Likewise, they could create other city names, such as Yeosu (yeo of yeonghoniyeo and ju of juin). The person with the most location names wins. A more advanced version consists of not only coming up with location names, but also asking questions about the places. If a person says, Yeongju, other people inquire further asking things like, “Which province does Yeongju belong to?” Unless the right answer is provided, “Gyeongsangbuk-do Province,” the person loses points. This style of game play requires a certain level of understanding about the places of Korea; hence the game being primarily enjoyed by children ten years and older.

Additionally, there was a game named *ramseungdo* (namseungdo). The game uses a board filled with the names of famous places in Korea. Players move game pieces on the board by rolling a die, or *yunmok* (a pentagonal stick), to spaces on the board where names of famous places and other locations in the

provinces of Joseon were written. This game was helpful in learning the names of not only ordinary places, but also places featuring beautiful scenery or historical significance. According to writings of foreigners who had visited Korea during the late Joseon Period, they found that Koreans had an affinity for travelling. In particular, according to the book, Chosun: The Land of the Morning Calm, by an American writer named Percival Lowell, who wrote that the people of Joseon were very fond of travelling, not only more than Americans, but also middle-class Europeans as well.

Gogomae Nori

고고매놀이

A game using a bird's feathers hung by a string

A game hanging the feathers of geese, ducks, or chickens by strings, which was typically enjoyed by children on Jeongwol Daeboreum.

Birds were the often object of desire among humans as they flew freely in the sky, leading to numerous attempts having been made to embody the features of birds. The most basic means to accomplish this task was to run with a thread attached with lightweight leaves or bird feathers. However, the thread would immediately fall to the ground once the running has stopped, spurring on its evolution into a kite. Kites come in various shapes and sizes, yet the act of flying a kite can be seen all throughout the world. In addition to flying a kite, there is another means that attempts to realize the desire for flight called Gogomae Nori. According to old literature and references, it is said that during the winter season when the wind is dry and strong, the feathers of geese and other birds, if attached to a thin thread (preferably silk, which is thinner and lighter than cotton) will float in the air. As the feathers remain tied to the thread, they simply bob up and down in the air with children jumping around trying to catch the moving feathers. Leaves or plastic bags tied to the end of

the string produce the same effect and whenever the wind doesn't blow strong enough, children may run with the thread in hand to make the kite fly through the air.

Flying a kite requires a number of materials, not to mention a knack for making it. However, Gogomae Nori only needs a moderate length of thread and the feathers of birds, which can be easily obtained from one's yard. Essentially, it serves as a convenient substitute for a kite, especially for children that may not be able to afford one in the first place. Gogomae Nori is presumed to have been primarily enjoyed by children.

Golpae

골패

A game pairing tiles made of bones

A game of pairing tiles made of bones according to the shape and number of holes on the tiles.

Golpae are typically wooden tiles covered with animal bones, such as cows and deer, and the sizes of the tiles are similar to the joint of a finger. After small, medium, and large-sized holes are carved onto the surface, the tiles are colored in red, black, and sometimes blue. In some areas of Chungcheongnam-do Province, this game was primarily enjoyed by well-educated people. Therefore, in these areas, this game was also referred to as *sinseonnoreum*.

It is said that Golpae originated in China and was later introduced to Korea, however, the exact timing of the introduction is unknown.

Although the timing is not exactly clear, it was definitely popular around the late Joseon Period and the ensuing Japanese Occupation. A book called *Mongminsimseo* (Admonitions on Governing the People) states, "games involving the betting of money cause people to have a crooked mind, a ruined fortune, and a worried family. Among them, the most powerful one is *Tujeon*

(the tile game), followed by the second most powerful, Ssangnyuk (the die and board game) and Golpae.” An article of *Daehan Maeil Shinbo* (The Korea Daily News) on August 9th, 1908, criticized, “the ruling class loves holding Golpae tiles more than spoons.” As such, this game has the characteristic of gambling. These days, it is hard to see people playing this game, perhaps because the rules are too complicated.

Two, or usually four people, play this game together with each tile having two numbers from 1 to 6 on the top and the bottom for a total of 32 pairs of tiles. The total number of holes at all times is 227, while each tile has a unique nickname depending on the number of holes. A tile is a flat wood piece painted in black and attached with ivory or animal bones with the holes symbolizing a certain number on top of them. A hole symbolizing number 1, for example, is the biggest in size, and holes representing numbers from 1 to 4 are colored in red, while the others are colored in black.

The goal of this game is to accumulate 227 points with 32 tiles. Actual rules vary depending on the region of game play with over a total of 80 variations. The most popular one is *Tok*, in addition to the pairing and tail paring.

In *Tok*, five people receive six tiles per person and a *mulju* (financier, host) keeps two tiles. Game rules do not specify any concept of last tiles or the num-

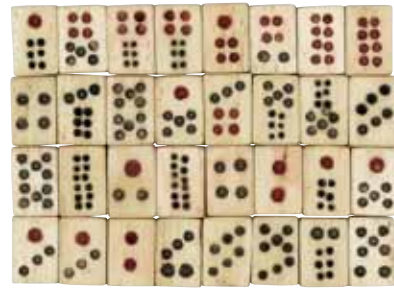


Golpae-hago | Gisanpungsokdo | National Folk Museum of Korea

ber of last tiles due to the fact that either the game may be over right after all the players take six tiles, or that may take a longer time. In the beginning, the *mulju* gives one of two tiles to player A while also taking a tile as well. Likewise, if player B offers one tile to the *mulju*, the *mulju* provides player B with a tile in return, excluding that which was received from player A. As this process continues, the player who succeeds to pair all 6 tiles shouts out “I’ve won!” Following confirmation of victory, the game is then concluded, before starting the next round begins with newly-distributed tiles.

The pairing rule is suitable for 2-4 players. With all tiles turned over, each player picks one tile, and the one with the highest number goes first. and the player then receives six tiles while the others receive five. The rest of the tiles are put at the center. The first player puts down pairs if there are any and can then put down one more tile. If there is no pair, the player can put down just one tile. The next person can then make a pair using the single tile presented by the first player and one of the second player’s tiles that matches. Otherwise, the second player can match a tile with one of the tiles at the table, however, if a pairing cannot be made again, the player takes one tile. As this process continues with other players, the first one to make three pairs wins.

The tail pairing rule is for two players. After one of the tiles that the first player has is presented, the next player has to offer a tile that has the same number on the first tile, hence the rule being referred to as tail pairing. First, two players receive 12 tiles each. After player A opens a tile, player B should put a tile with the same number at the bottom (tail part) of the first tile. Now, player A should put a tile with the same number at the bottom of the tile that player B has offered. A player loses when lacking a tile that matches the number of the tile presented last. Moreover, after counting the number of tiles in their hands, players can throw the tile away when it is not favorable to them. However, once tiles have been completely depleted, that player is then declared the loser.



Golpae | National Folk Museum of Korea

Gomujul Nori

고무줄놀이

A game hopping over or rolling in a rubber band along to songs

A children's game consisting of hopping over an elastic band or winding the band on players' legs along to songs.

Gomujul Nori is played with rubber bands today, but it is believed to have been originally played using straw ropes. "Korean Games" is a book by Stewart Culin and was first published in 1895. The book described a game called *jul ttwieo neomgi* (jumping over ropes), apart from jump roping, which was similar to Gomujul Nori. The game was developed with ropes made of natural material, such as kudzu vines or straw ropes, and evolved as a game that uses the elasticity of rubber bands. At first, the long rubber bands used for the game were made by tying many short rubber bands together, before the arrival of severed bicycle tires later on, followed by long black rubber bands as of more recently.

Gomujul Nori is played using one, two, or three bands. The game can be played by two people, but is typically enjoyed by four or more people divided into two teams. Young children or children not skilled enough could be designated as a *kkakdugi*, a player playing as a member of both teams.

After teaming up, the leaders of both teams play a round of *Gawi Bawi Bo* to determine who goes first. The winning team initiates play, while the other team holds the rubber band(s) for them. The team initiating play then needs to move in sync with a predetermined song, where upon failure to do so, the teams switch roles. Once a team is able to succeed in the succession of movement, that team proceeds to the next stage of the game. The game increases in difficulty by raising the height of the band. The height starts at ankle level, before gradually rising up to the calf, knees, thigh, waist, belly, shoulder, neck, head, and a hand width higher than their head. Occasionally the level gets as high as fully upward-stretched arms, making it difficult to catch the band with their feet, and so the playing team stands on their hands to catch it.

Many songs were used for Gomujul Nori, with the lyrics reflected the times. During the Japanese Occupation, children sang Japanese songs, whereas upon



Gomujul Nori | Lee Eok-yeong | National Folk Museum of Korea

liberation, they would sing *Haebangga* (Song of Korea's Liberation) and *Dong-nipgunga* (Song of Korean Independence Military), as well as songs reflecting anti-communism following the Korean War. Subsequently, children sang the the songs learned in school, while the arrival of the television led to the use of popular commercial jingles and cartoon theme songs.

Gomujul Nori was typically enjoyed by girls, while boys were known for distancing themselves from the game as they would simply try to sneak up and cut the rubber bands when girls were at play. The game requires flexibility with a sense of rhythmic timing as the movements and songs be in sync with each other. In the early stages of the game, children would sing the songs as they knew them, yet later on, they would change the lyrics to the point where some of the lyrics remained meaningless. Gomujul Nori is played in India and in the Yanbian Prefecture of China, as well, under similar rules.

Gonggi Nori

공기놀이

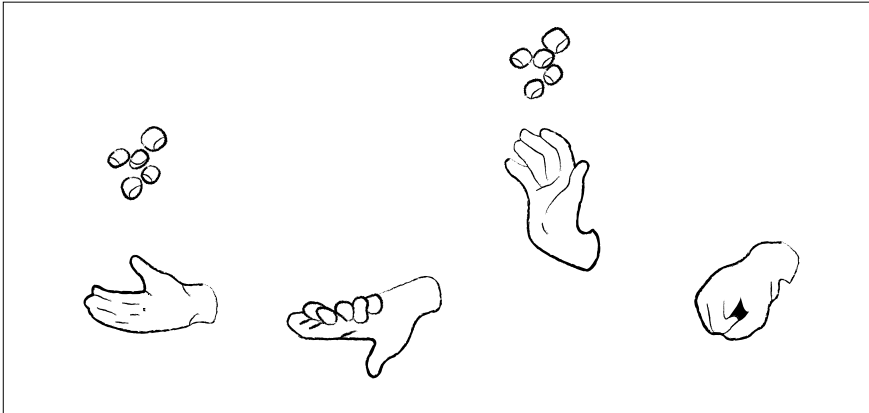
A game throwing and catching small items with hands

A game throwing and catching small items with one's hand.

Although its origin has not been clearly identified, *Ojuyeonmunjangjeonsango*, a book written during the reign of King Heonjong (1834-1849), explains, “there is a game where children play with round stones called *gonggi*. Also, one type of it is referred to as *sotbal gonggi*, where players throw stones in the air, catch them with the palm side of their hand, and place them down to create a certain shape such as *sotbal* (the tripod base of a kettle).” This record shows that the origin of the game goes back quite a long way. There is also a similar game in the West called “Jacks,” or Knucklebones. Since finding the necessary items is relatively easy, it is estimated that this game has been for an extensive period of



Jasaedduigo | Gisanpungsokdo | Korean Christian Museum at Soongsil University



Snapping the wrist

time in many countries throughout the world.

Usually, one set of *gonggi* consists of five stones, however, under other variations of the rules, the number of stones allow for over seven. In the past, players used literal stones the size of an adult thumbnail and a smooth surface. More recently, the most commonly used items are short, cylindrically-shaped plastic stones that are produced in large quantity in factories. In this case, the weight of *gonggi* is adjusted by adding or subtracting the small iron pieces inside.

While one person can play this game alone, multiple players may compete with each other as an individual or a team. Once teams are formed, players first perform a round of rock-paper-scissors, or other another game, to determine the order and set the target point, or age. The game is played as follows:

- ① Level 1: Claspings 1 stone – After throwing five stones on the ground, pick up a stone and throw it up in the air. While airborne, pick up one stone on the ground and catch the falling stone. Repeat these steps until getting all five stones in the hand. Upon completion, move on to level 2.
- ② Level 2: Claspings 2 stones – Pick up two stones from the ground after throwing one stone up in the air.
- ③ Level 3: Claspings 3 stones – Throw one stone in the air and then pick up three stones. After catching the falling stone, throw a stone again and pick up another stone from the ground.
- ④ Level 4: Claspings 4 stones – With five stones in the hand, throw one stone in the air, toss the others on the ground, and catch the falling stone before it hits the ground.



Gonggi Nori | Yun Deok-hui | 18th Century | National Museum of Korea

- ⑤ Level 5: *Kkeokgi* (Snapping) - After completing levels, from one through four, toss the five stones from the palm of the hand into the air and catch them with the back of the hand by swiftly turning the hand. Throw up stones on the back of the hand and snap them up with the palm side of the hand. The number of stones that are caught determines the winner, which is referred to as “aging.”

The player to successfully complete all levels goes back to begin at level 1 before continuing on. Unsuccessful attempts include the following: touching other stones when picking up a stone on the ground; failing to catch the falling stone after successfully picking up stones on the ground; and not being able to catch even one stone after throwing stones on the back of the hand during *kkeokgi*. If a player is subject to one of the above, that player is disqualified, and the turn shifts to the next player. The points that players earn are determined by the number of stones that players successfully snatch up during *kkeokgi*. According to the resulting number, players earn points from one to five. These points are often counted as one's years of age. The first one to accumulate the number of predetermined points wins the game.

Gongju Seonhangni Jige Nori

공주 선향리 지게놀이

A custom using a jige

A custom using a jige (an A-framed carrier) in Seonhak-ri of Sinpung-myeon, Gongju, Chungcheongnam-do Province.

Gongju Seonhangni Jige Nori was generally passed down among young adults and the middle-aged in charge of farming. Seonhak-ri is a village created by people who had fled their hometown upon the Japanese Invasion of Korea in 1592. It is known that Gongju Seonhangni Jige Nori started based on the fact that the *jige* played an important role as a means of transportation used in farming and the gathering of firewood in mountain



Gongju Seonhangni Jige Nori | Minsokwon Publishing Company

villages. The tradition essentially came to be when people began performing the laborious transportation of items more joyfully by incorporating the *jige* into their farming routine. Presented at the 2000 Korean Folk Art Festival, the once extinguished tradition was officially restored, while a delegates from Chungcheongnam-do Province performed Gongju Seonhangni Jige Nori, earning prize of recognition. Moreover, the tradition was designated as the Intangible Cultural Property No. 37 of Chungcheongnam-do Province on April 10th, 2004. Since that time, the elders of the village have led the society in movements to both preserve and promote the Seonhangni Jige Nori tradition.

Jige Nori was passed down in the past when a *jige* was an essential tool for farming and daily life. In this regard, traditions using a *jige* are observed in almost every agricultural town across the country to the extent of the creation of the old Korean saying, “farming is impossible without a *jige*.” However, Gongju Seonhangni Jige Nori has unique characteristics that cannot be found in the *Jige Nori* of other towns. For example, in the case of *jigepungjang* (an aerial burial using Korean A-frame carriers), other regions use basic *saemachi* rhythm

while Seonhak-ri adds other rhythms, such as *Gilgunnabi*, *Mulpungdingi Garak*, *Jajeunmachi*, and *Ippungjang* (a *pungjang* sound made with the mouth). In particular, another special feature of this tradition is that reed pipes made of the bark of pine trees are used to add amusement. Furthermore, *Jige Jinebal Nori*¹ (*Jige* Centipede Legs), *Jige Kkonnabi*² (*Jige* Flower Butterfly), and *Jige Homi Kkeulgi*³ (*Jige* Hoe Dragging) demonstrate the dynamism and diversity of Gongju Seonhangni Jige Nori.

1. *Jige jinebal nori* is a game where over ten people hold their jige while one person passes over by stepping on the *jige*. In order for the person on the *jige* to move continuously, the person at the end among the people on the ground constantly move to the front.

2. *kkonnabi* is a tradition where a girl dances in a traditional Korean garment with many colored stripes on a *jige* while other people sing together.

3. *Jige homi kkeulgi* is a play dragging a *jige* with a hoe hanging from it after the work of a farmers' cooperative group.

Gongjuk

공죽

A game throwing and catching bamboo bells

A game throwing and catching a gongjuk by holding two sticks connected by a thread.

Despite the exact origin being unknown, Gongjuk seems to be the Korean version of China's Dugongjuk game. It was referred to as many names, including *Jukbangul Nolligi*, *Jjukbangul Dolligi*, *Jukbangul Batgi*, *Jukbangul Nori*, *Jukbangul Chigi*, and *Silpae Nori*.

In Korea, most *gongjucks* (bamboo bells) have two wheels with a few variations of technique, thread and sticks. However, the Chinese have several sophisticated techniques depending on the speed and length of the string, power when pulling the string, methods of coiling the string, the direction of catching a *gongjuk*, and the size and weight of the *yunban* (wheel plate).



Jukbangulbatneun Moyang | Gisanpungsokdo (Replica) | National Folk Museum of Korea



Jukbangulbatki | Gyeongnam Jinju Sotdaejaengi Nori Preservation Society | 2014 | Han Nam-su



Single-wheel Gongjuk
Beijing, China | 2009 | Han Nam-su



Double-wheel Gongjuk |
Beijing, China | 2009 | Han Nam-su

Gongjuks can be categorized into double-wheeled *gongjuk*, single-wheeled *gongjuk*, and heteromorphic *gongjuk*. A single-wheeled *gongjuk* has one *yunban* with a stick handle at the center. As the weight is put on the *yunban*, it is difficult to keep its balance; thus requiring an appropriate interval and equilibrium point given between the *yunban*'s weight and pivot when connecting an axis to the pivot. The axis is an important connection line for spinning. The spinning of the *gongjuk* varies depending on the direction of coiling and the speed of unwinding.

A double-wheeled *gongjuk* resembles *janggu* (Korean double-headed drum). It has two *yunbans* at each side with a groove in the middle of those through which an axis connects them. Since the weight is equally distributed to two *yunbans*, it is comparably easy maintain balance while spinning. If the spinning speed decreases or if the string is excessively coiled, the height and direction should be adjusted by the stick in the right hand. Here, the left hand should move at a similar speed of the right hand so as to adjust the spinning speed and pivot the *gongjuk* in a forward position.

In Gongjuk, the *yunban*, a sound hole, is crucial. Multiple holes are made along the circumference of a basic *yunban* as sound holes. Small bamboo pieces are then split and attached in order to adjust the size, space, and thickness of holes. Those pieces in *yunban* are coated with glue and dehydrated for 2-3 days. After a lid is put on a *yunban*, heavy items are placed on top during the period of re-drying to prevent it from falling off or twisting. Once the *yunban* is completed, an axis is inserted into the center and fixed in place. Afterward, a *yunban* is planed to smooth the grains so that the circumference and sound holes are in balance before the actual balance of weight for the *yunban* is checked.

Lastly, some drawings are painted on as decoration. The sound holes are then divided into treble, the smaller holes, and bass, the bigger holes. A good sound from a sound hole requires consistency in the size, space, and height of the holes, the thickness of the two *yunbans*, and the balance of weight. Currently, as plastic or rubber *gongjuks* were developed, *yunbans* and sound holes were removed from the double-wheeled *gongjuks*.

A heteromorphic *gongjuk* has a non-traditional size, weight, axis, or sticks: A large-sized *gongjuk*, ceramic lids, wheels of a bicycle, a smaller *gongjuk* using copper or iron to name a few. There is even a *gongjuk* that doesn't require a stick to spin it and only needs a string to connect with other *gongjuks*.

Gonu Nori

고누놀이

A game moving and capturing pieces on a game board to decide a winner

A game moving one's game pieces to trap or capture an opponent's game pieces on a game board drawn in the dirt, a piece of wood, or a stone, to decide a winner.

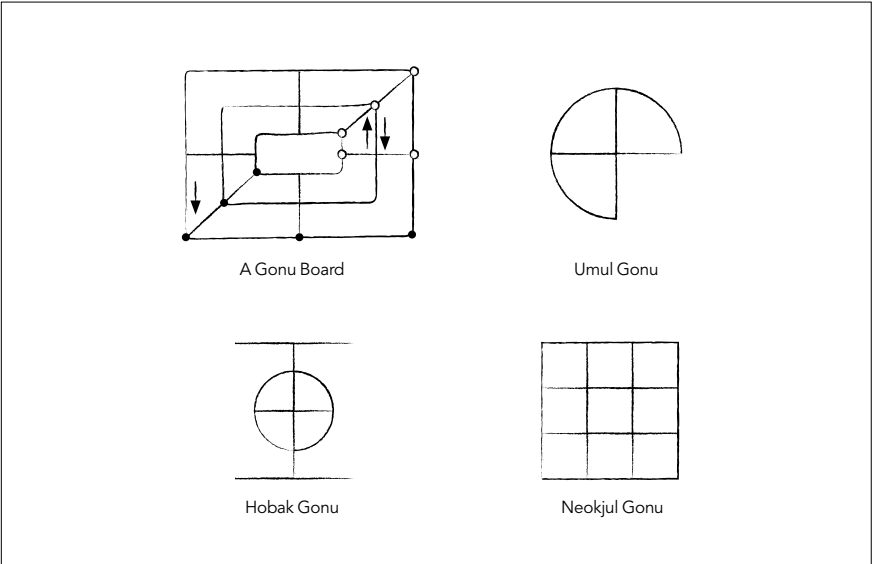
Gonu Nori is a game played nationwide game under various names per region. Also, the board, the number of game pieces, and rules exist in subtle variations from place to place. However, these differences can be categorized into two types. One variation involves a game where one player traps the game pieces of an opponent in order to win – namely, *Umulgonu* and *Hobakgonu*; the other is a game capturing the pieces by meeting certain conditions, such as in *Julgonu* and *Chamgonu*.

Among all kinds of Gonu Nori, let's look at the most common type: *Gon-jilgonu*. *Gon-jilgonu* is unique in that players take turns, placing their pieces one by one. Since its rules are the most complex and inspire various fascinating moves, it is perhaps much more interesting. In this regard, it is also known as

chamgonu or *kkotgonu*, which implies that this is the most elite form of Gonu Nori. To begin with, each player has 12 pieces in hand, while on a game board, there is a figure with 24 intersecting points where multiple lines meet. Usually, the less-skilled of the players takes the first turn. During a turn, a player places one of their pieces on one of 24 intersecting points. Upon forming a chain, horizontally, vertically, or diagonally, of three pieces for a *kkon*, the opponent must then be prevented from aligning pieces into a *kkon*. Once a *kkon* has been created, the player shouts out “Kkon!” and removes one of opponent’s pieces on the board. The space where the piece is removed is either marked with a star or occupied with another marker so that nobody can place their pieces there. Players repeat this process until all 24 intersecting points are filled.

Once there are no longer any vacant intersecting points, spaces with a star or other indicator become freed to be newly occupied. In other words, a player can move a piece to a vacant space to create a *kkon*, followed by the removal of one of the opponent’s pieces. Once a player drives an opponent down to the last remaining two pieces, that player is declared the victor.

The rules and forms of Gonu Nori are seemingly related to *Janggi* or *Baduk* and is continuously enjoyed from childhood on into the adult years. Amid the various levels of difficulty that can be customized to a player’s understanding of the game, the game boards, number of pieces, and rules of play vary greatly. This game was played not only in Korea, but also in neighboring countries,



Types of Gonu

such as China, Japan, Mongolia, and India. A number of similarly developed games have also been observed across the world.

Gossaum Nori

고싸움놀이

A game clashing two gos to decide a winner

A game clashing two gos together in the air with the team that is able to overpower the other declared as the winner.

Gossaum Nori game goes by *Gossaum*, *Gossam*, or *Gojulssaum*, since it uses a go (a long straw rope tied one end in a circle). Gossaum Nori has been passed down, along with tug-of-war, as a customary seasonal game wishing for a good harvest. Until recently, the game was played in the plains region of Jeollanam-do Province near the Yeongsan River and Tamjin River.

Unlike other areas, Gossaum Nori in Chilseok-dong of Nam-gu, Gwangju, evolved into a stand-alone game, instead of becoming merely a variant of tug-of-war. Chilseok-dong Gossaum Nori is played without any relation to tug-of-war, which has detracted to become that of a subsidiary game at most. This can be seen as a particular trait in the upper Yeongsan River area. The residents in the area make straw ropes exclusively for Gossaum Nori. During the game, leaders of both sides march on the gos and decide a winner by clashing the gos together in effort to bring the opponent's go to the ground. The residents start preparing for the game ten days before *Jeongwol Daeboreum* (the first full moon of the lunar calendar); they perform dongsan-je (village rituals performed in southern regions) on the day of *Jeongwol Daeboreum* and play Gossaum Nori on the following 17th or 18th. Children play *Gosatgossaum* (a small-scale Gossaum Nori using small gos) leading up to the full moon, before the adults play gossaum a few days later. The go of Chilseok Village is large and sturdy with an oval head, a 2-3 m long neck, while the rest of the body grows narrower toward

the end. The total length of the rope is about 20 m.

Typically, Gossaum Nori is played by *sangchon* and *hachon* (the upper and lower villages, teamed up as *dongbu* and *seobu* (the east team and west team). Both teams carry the gos and visit each other's village to provoke the opponent into competition. *Julpaejang* (a leader of the rope games) follows in step along the *go* and leads the march while chanting in unison. When the two sides meet at a barley field or an empty field in front of a village, Gossaum Nori begins following a brief confrontation. Both teams then rush toward each other when the *julpaejangs* give the order to "push!" As the *gos* clash and their heads rise high, the participants' tussle intensifies. *Julpaejangs* back away and rearrange the lines of battle, shouting to "back up!" whenever someone gets hurt or the lines become disorganized. This back and forth is repeated several times, until one *go* is pressed down to the ground and a winning team is decided. However, the game would continue on for several days if a winner not readily decided.

If the game continues without a winner for a prolonged period of time, the residents untie the gos and play a game of Juldarigi to decide the winner. Despite the belief, "The *hachon* (women's team) should win to bring about a good harvest," the teams do their best regardless, making for a very intense competition.

Gossaum Nori has significant meaning as both a seasonal folk game that petitions for the well-being and prosperity of the community, and as a *Daedong Nori* (folk games played in groups) that stirs excitement within the community. Thanks to its unique meaning, large scale, and dynamic, Gossaum Nori is reinterpreted and popularized within today's society as well. The game was played as part of the opening ceremonies of the 1986 Asian Winter Games and the 1988 Seoul Olympics to show the world the adventurous spirit and strong vigor of Koreans.

Goyang Songpo Homigeori

고양 송포 호미걸이

A custom relieving fatigue from farming and wishing a good harvest by hanging *bomi*

A custom of farmers to relieve fatigue from farming and wish for a good harvest, originating from Baemgae Village in Daehwa-dong, IlsanSeo-gu, Goyang-si, Gyeonggi-do Province.

Homigeori traditionally means a custom of washing a *bomi* (a short hoe) clean and hanging it by a flag after the last weeding of the farming year. Farmers would hold *Homigeori* on *Chirwolchilseong* (July 7th of the lunar calendar), or on or about *Baekjung*. Every *homigeori* is about sharing delicious food and enjoying each other's company along with *pungmul* (farmers' music) to honor the farmers' hard work while wishing for a good harvest.

Goyang Songpo Homigeori, however, was not an annual celebration and was held in the years only when a good harvest was expected following the last weeding, according to the general opinion of the *durepae*s (farmers' group for mutual help). As with other regions, *Homigeori* was held as an important event for farmers in Goyang as well. However, the Japanese Colonial Government banned all *dure* activity, gradually putting a halt to the custom itself.

Goyang Songpo Homigeori was rediscovered in 1977, and since April 1998, it has been preserved and passed down following its designation as the Intangible Cultural Property No. 22 of Gyeonggi-do Province.

Farmers could predict each year's harvest around the time they finished the second weeding for the year. When a good harvest for the year was anticipated, the *yeongjwa* (leader of *durepae* for the village) and *durepae*s decided to hold *Homigeori*, and planned the event through village meetings. The day of the event was chosen between *Chirwolchilseong* and *Baekjung*. Every household contributed to preparations for food and items as needed for *Homigeori* to the extent that they could afford.

The process of *Homigeori* includes *Sangsanje*, *Daedonggosa*, *Daedongnori*, and *Yugaje*. About ten farming songs of *Songpo* and *Goyang Dure 12 Chae Garak* (Twelve-strike Rhythm) are played throughout the process:



Washing Homi | Goyang, Gyeonggi-do Province | National Folk Museum of Korea



Eating saecham | Goyang, Gyeonggi-do Province | National Folk Museum of Korea

1. *Sangsanje*: A Confucian style ritual to wish for a good harvest offered in the early morning of *Homigeori* day. A representative of the village, or *yeongjiwa* of the village *durepae*, leads a crowd with a *nonggi* (farmers' flag) and goes up to the *dodangsan* (a sacred mountain or hill) of the village to offer *Sangsanje*.
2. *Daedonggosa*: A *gosa* (offering for spirits protecting households), wishing for the safety of households and a good harvest, is held at the playground of the village after *Sangsanje*. After women prepare the food, a respected, elder woman leads *gosa* as the *jeju* (lead operator of the ritual). The *jeju* recites the words of blessing while doing *bison* (a hand-rubbing ritual), and the rest of the women join their hands together by the chest and bow, wishing for a good harvest and for the well-being of the village. *Sangsanje* is mainly performed by men, and *Daedonggosa*, by women.
3. *Daedong Nori*: People start playing a series of games immediately following the *Daedonggosa*. The sequence of *Daedong nori* includes bowing toward a flag, choosing a flag bearer and performing a display of movements using a flagpole, followed by sounds of *Homigeori* and *Nongsa Nori* (a farming game).

- ① *Gijeolbatgi*: This is a formal ceremony to welcome the *durepaes* from neighboring villages. Normally, *durepaes* form brotherly ties based on the time gap between their foundations, vigor, or group size. When two *durepaes* meet, they should show respect with the farmers' flags, the symbols of the *durepaes*.
- ② Choosing a flag bearer and displaying flagpole performance: Following the flag-bowing, the strongest person in the group is designated as the flag bearer. A roll of cloth is given to the chosen person as a gift. The flag bearer then dances around while wrapping the cloth around his body, or placing a flagpole on his palm or shoulder.
- ③ Sounds of *Homigeori* and *Nongsa Nori*: In this sequence, people imitate plowing rice fields with a cow made of a straw mat, while all villagers enjoy the moment dancing and singing *homigeori duresori* (a song about *homigeori* sang by members of a *dure*), and a group of *sogojaebe* (dancers in a folk band playing handy drums named *sogo*) reenact the process of yearly farming.
- ④ *Yugaje*: Originally, *yugaje* was a custom that involved people who passed *gwa-geo* (the national civil service examination) visiting their parents, relatives, and other elders of their villages amid jesters playing music. This entire sequence is, in fact, where the name derived from. Following the *daedong nori*, the *durepae* visited households playing farmers' music as a means of blessing (e.g. "*Ganae musataepyeong*." [May this family be free of any ills.]), and were greeted with food.

When *yugaje* is over, the *durepae* and villagers enjoy themselves by sharing food and drink, playing folk music, and dancing to conclude the *homigeori*.

Goyang Songpo Homigeori is a good example of an iconic farming culture, pertaining to a specific region during the late Joseon Period, that saw the community help one another by forming groups called *dure*. Ceremonially, *homigeori* meant washing and hanging a *homi* on the *beoritjul* (a rope binding a flag onto a flagpole) of farmers' flags after the end of the farming process for the year. However, the actual *homigeori* was mainly about relieving the fatigue of farmers from their hard work during the hot summer season, wishing for a good annual harvest, and nourishing both brotherly relationships and harmony between *durekkuns* (members of *dure*) of a village and its neighboring villages.

Gudeok Mangkke Teodajigi

구덕 망게 터다지기

A custom hardening the ground to build a new home

A custom using a tool called mangkke to harden the ground in order to build walls or pillars of traditional buildings or houses.

A *mangkke* is a stamping tool for hardening soft ground, usually referred to as *dalgu*. Its body is made of a round log, a flat stone or a flat iron lump, with four to five handles or ropes attached to the body. Hardening the ground with a *mangkke* is called *mangkkejil* (or *dalgujil*). The workers lift the *mangkke* high using handles or ropes, and then release it on the ground for stamping.

A stone *mangkke* is used for Gudeok Mangkke Teodajigi. More specifically, a small *mangkke* is used for the rest of building grounds, and a large *mangkke* is used at the spots where foundation stones are to be installed. The small *mangkke* is made of stone and is 20 cm in height, 100 cm in circumference, and 90 kg in weight. The tool is covered with a netting made of strong ropes with four pulling ropes attached to the netting. One or two workers pull each rope, meaning four to eight people are required to use the tool. The large *mangkke* is also made of stone, and is 30 cm in height, 120 cm in circumference, and 150 kg in weight. In the same manner, the tool is covered with a netting made of strong rope with five pulling ropes attached to the netting. The large tool requires more people than the small one. In fact, as many as three to five people are required per rope. Furthermore, the following working tools and musical instruments are also used: two *soes* (a type of gong), two *jings* (another type of gong), two *daebuks* (large drums), two *janggus* (double-headed drums), four spades, four *jiges* (an A-framed carrier), four hoes, four shovels, and five *obanggis* (a type of ceremonial flag).

Gudeok Mangkke Teodajigi is performed as follows:

- ① *Teojabi*: This is a process of declaring a building ground with the help of a geomancer. The geomancer looks around the left, right, and front sides of the ground, then declares the ground is an ideal spot that will grant government careers and family fortune. After that, the geomancer suggests an offering to



Gudeok Mangkke Teodajigi | Seo-gu, Busan | 2009 | Bae Do-sik

the *obangsin* (gods of the five basic directions) before the hardening of the ground.

- ② *Teotje (Obangsinje)*: *Teotje* (a rite given to honor the *obangsin*) is given after the selection of the ground by the geomancer. This is a ritual to inform every god, including the *teaju* (a spirit watching over the building ground), of the commencement of the house's construction. A regular *teotgosa* (another name for *teotje*) is mainly offered to the *teaju*. In the Gudeok Mangkke Teodajigi, however, the offering is given to honor the *obangsin* as well. *sadaebu* (an individual of the literati class) and *paldaebu* (a fun title referring to the *sadaebu* class) in the village lead the ritual as *jegwan* (operators of the ritual). The offerings include the head of a pig, rice, pollack, steamed rice cake, jujubes, chestnuts, persimmon, apple, and rice wine to be offered as a *jeju* (ceremonial drink). Meanwhile, the carpenters offer an independent *Motanggosa* (a rite given on a *motang*), in addition to the *teotje*, before construction begins. *Motang* is a workbench of the *daemok* (carpenters specialized in building), and it used for carpenters to place offerings on it, while informing the *sangnyangsin* (the guardian god of a house) of the beginning of the construction.

- ③ *Garaejil* (Spading): After the *teotje*, spading begins with flattening the ground, and participants start singing *garaesori*, a work song dedicated to spading. The future owner of the building starts the process with a request for a successful construction, then the workers pave the ground and repeat the specific chorus of the song in reply to the chanting of a lead singer.
- ④ *Mangkkejil*: After the flattening of the ground, *mangkkejil* begins to harden the whole site with a small *mangkke*. When the initial round of *mangkkejil* with the small *mangkke* is done, workers choose spots to place the cornerstones. They dig the spot about three *jas* (approx. 90 cm) deep, fill the spot with gravel, coarse sand or lime about eight *chi* (approx. 21 cm) high, pour water on it, and then tramp over the spot with a large *mangkke*. The second round of *mangkkejil* continues until the body makes a clanging sound, then more gravel, sand and lime are added on the spot. Traditionally, the process is repeated from six to seven times. The primary reason for singing, *mangkkejil sori*, is to overcome the fatigue of the labor involved in hardening the building ground and the spot to place the cornerstones. The lyrics also invoke the *teoju*, *obangsin*, and every other god and spirit to protect the site from disaster and ensure good fortune for the residents of the new building.
- ⑤ Celebration: When every *mangkkejil* is complete, all the workers who participated in the project gather around to relieve their fatigue and enjoy the food and drink served by the future owner of the building. Everyone enjoys themselves, singing the *Kwaejina Ching Ching Naane* in chorus.

Gulleongsoe Gulligi Nori

굴렁쇠 굴리기놀이

A game rolling a round object

A game rolling thick wire rims, rims of bicycle wheels, or rims of round containers with sticks.

Gulleongsoe Gulligi Nori was named *Gulleongsoe* (iron rolling game, or an iron rim to roll), because of the way it is played. While the game was played nationwide, its origin remains unclear. It is believed that people started playing it first with the rims of liquor barrels, or the pots, to store urine named *janggun* (also called *ojumjanggun*, *somae janggun*, *ojumchumari*). The rims used to play Gulleongsoe Gulligi Nori were made of wood (pine tree root, green bamboo, bush clover stem, acacia tree, bamboo tree, etc.) in the past, however, it evolved to metal rims (iron or aluminum) in later periods. The metal rims were mostly made of bicycle or handcart wheels, oil drums, or thick wires.

The first recorded history about Gulleongsoe Gulligi Nori was written in *Joseonui Hyangtoorak* (The Folk Games of Joseon, published in 1936). According to the book, it was one of the local children's games in the Gaeseong region of Gyeonggi-do Province. In the late 1980s, bicycles and handcarts came into use in rural communities as well, and Gulleongsoe Gulligi Nori was played widely, using the old wheels of rides. Gulleongsoe Gulligi Nori was enjoyed in many places, including the city outskirts and rural areas, while the game earned its spot as a traditional game of Korea, once it became a part of the childhood memory of among today's adult population.

The size of *gulleongsoes* varied. Children used small ones, while older players used larger ones. Once a *gulleongsoe* was made, a stick was needed to roll it. A bicycle rim could be rolled with a simple wooden stick, because it had a groove in the middle. However, *gulleongsoes* made of wires, or wood, required a stick made of a thick wire with a U-shaped head. Regardless of the stick material, the ideal angle of the stick to roll *gulleongsoes* was 90 degrees to the ground. The game was mostly played by a single person, but could also be played in groups. Since the players had to keep moving around right and left to prevent falling, playing *gulleongsoe* in narrow places was much harder than playing it in open places. *Gicha Nori* was a way to play the game in groups, involving the players running in line while grabbing the waist of the person in front with the left hand. Another way of group play was a relay competition between multiple teams. There was a version called *Jeoncha Nori*, involving the drawing of lines on the ground and rolling a *gulleongsoe* along them, while changing players at the points where the lines intersected. Children not rolling a *gulleongsoe* grabbed the waist of the child rolling it and followed behind, and they could either get on or off the "train" at each stop. Players sang a song when *gulleongsoe* was played in group, "Round and around, *gulleongsoe*, to where are you rolling?"



Gulleongsoe Gulligi Nori during the opening ceremony of the 1988 Summer Olympics | 1988 | National Archives of Korea



Gulleongsoe Nori | Lee Eok-yeong | National Folk Museum of Korea

Gulleongsoe Gulligi Nori became known internationally by a child rolling a *gulleongsoe* at the opening ceremony of the Seoul Olympic Games. Children of India and Thailand play similar games, rolling wheels by hands or short sticks, yet seldom use long sticks to control the movement as Koreans do. It takes a lot of practice to learn Gulleongsoe Gulligi Nori properly. Today, Korean children do not have the time to practice it, and while watching them play the game, they seem very unskillful as it is hard to distinguish whether they are rolling the *gulleongsoe*, or just following it.

Guseulchigi

구슬치기

A game encompassing many types of games using marbles

A game using marbles made of glass or ceramics with the goal of getting other players' marbles by hitting them with marbles, throwing them into holes, hitting targets with them, guessing whether the number of marbles the other player grabbed is odd or even, or guessing the exact number of marbles grabbed.

Guseulchigi was a game loved in every region of Korea, typically played by boys during the winter.

In order to play Guseulchigi, children used to make marbles with clay and dry them in the shade, or pick small and round stones by creeks. Acorns, and other fruits, were also used in some regions. The game began to be played nationwide after the introduction of ceramic marbles created through the same method of pottery-making, and glass marbles made with the leftover glass following the increased use of glass during the Japanese Occupation. There were few cases, however, of playing Marbles with iron balls from the bearings of broken cars or tanks during the Korean War.

Ways of playing Guseulchigi vary according to region, with the five primary



Guseulchigi | Lee Eok-yeong | National Folk Museum of Korea

ways listed below:

- ① *Bomdeulgi* involving the throwing of marbles into holes in the ground in a predetermined order. The children say, “*Deureotda!* (It’s in!)” when the marble they throw goes into a hole. The turn then continues until as players try to keep throwing another marble into the next hole. Players that miss wait for the next turn and try again, aiming for the same hole, rather than completely starting over from the first hole. If a marble hits other players’ marbles on the ground, it is also considered a successful turn. This is called *matchugi*.
- ② *Alkkagi* is throwing a marble to hit the opponents’ marbles. This is the simplest and easiest way of playing, involving the first set of marbles thrown at a certain distance in order. Players hitting other players’ marbles on the ground get to keep the marble they hit.
- ③ The most popular of playing is drawing a triangle on the ground, placing a certain number of marbles in it, and throwing marbles to hit and push the placed marbles out of the triangle. If a thrown marble remains in the triangle, or touches the lines of the triangle, the player is out after placing every marble obtained so far back within the triangle. This is called *Tohagi*. A round is completed when there is no marble left within the triangle, or only one player re-

mains after every other player is out. When a round is completed, players place another set of marbles and start over.

- ④ *Byeokchigi* uses a wall, and there are two ways of playing. The first involves placing marbles on a wall and rolling them down in turn. Players who hit the other players' marble stopped on the ground get to keep the marble they hit. Another way of playing it involves the player rolling a marble farthest on the ground gets to every other marble. The second way is called *Obusipbu* (a dialect word for *Obosipbo*), using a similar rule as *Jachigi*. First, every player rolls marbles over a wall, and then they take turns from the one who rolled a marble farthest to hit the other players' marbles on the ground. Players get marbles based on the length they rolled other players' marbles by hitting them with theirs.
- ⑤ *Holjjang* is played mostly by two people. One person grabs marbles, and the other person guesses whether the number of marbles is odd or even. They bet the number of marbles before playing, and give or take the marbles according to the results of the guessing. In addition, there is another way using a similar method involving three numbers of cases instead of two, which is called *Ssam-chigi*.

Guseulchigi was the most played game by boys in winter until the 1970s, however, it is rarely seen today as children do not value marbles anymore. Guseulchigi used to be an object of value for children in the past, yet today's children do not see marbles the same way and lack any reason to gather or collect them. Also, there are not enough places to play marbles within the urban environment of modern times.

Gwacheon Mudong Dapgyo Nori

과천 무동 답교놀이

A game combining acrobatic performances with Dapgyo Nori (daribapgi) to wish for a long and healthy life

A Korean folk game combining the Bridge Crossing Nori that wishes longev-

ity and health during the night of Jeongwol Daeboreum with acrobatic performances to welcome King Jeongjo and his corps when they stop by and quarter in Gwacheon, Gyeonggi-do Province, on their way to the Hwaseong Fortress.

Dapgyo Nori is a nationwide tradition where people cross over a bridge in a town during the night of *Jeongwol Daeboreum* (the first full moon of the lunar calendar) to wish for a rich harvest and a long healthy life. Gwacheon Mudong Dapgyo Nori adds remarkable acrobatic dances and performances to the *Dapgyo Nori* tradition in order to welcome King Jeongjo and also pays respect for seeing his filial duty through by visiting *Hyeollyungwon* (royal tombs of Crown Prince Sado and Princess Hyegyeong, the parents of King Jeongjo) around *Jeongwol Daeboreum*.

During the Japanese Occupation, the tradition was restricted from being performed, however, in 1981, the Gwacheon Folk Culture Preservation Society saw that it was restored. Also, it was designated as the intangible cultural heritage No. 44 of Gyeonggi-do Province in 2015.

In the Gwacheon Mudong Dapgyo Nori, people cross a bridge and simultaneously perform an acrobatic play, hence the presence of several characters. First, a guide shows the way while flag bearers hold up flags, including a *nonggi* (farmers' flag) and *yonggi* (dragon flag). Behind them is a *nongakdae* (farmers' music troupe) consisting of a *hojeok* (whistle), *kkwaenggwari* (small gong), *jing* (gong), *jegeum* (cymbal), *jangu* (double-headed drum with a narrow waist in the middle), *buk* (drum), and *sogo* (small drum), followed by the last members, *japsaek* (dancing actors without musical instruments) and *mudong* (dancing boys). The specific composition and contents are as follows:

- ① *Dangnamu Gosa* (the God Tree Ritual): The guide leads the group to the front of *Dangnamu*, where the group and the villagers stand in front of it in a line and respectfully bow three times following the signal of the *sangsoe* (leader of farmers' music troupe) to wish for a peaceful year.
- ② *Jisin Bapgi* and *Umul Gosa* (the Well Ritual): First, people create a model of the village of a tile-roof house, a house of *Daegam*, a thatched house, and a well. They walk around these houses once instead of performing *Jisin Bapgi*. Then, they head to the well and circle around it at the center of the village while playing instruments. For this ritual, the *sangsoe* gives his/her blessing, saying, "Please, give us clean water." During *Umul Gosa*, people bow to the well to make a collective wish while some *mudongs* give baby *mudongs* a lift for a dance amid the *japsaek* dancing comically.

- ③ *Dari Gosa* (the Bridge Ritual): After *Jisin Bapgi* and *Umul Gosa*, the group moves toward the bridge before surrounding it. They prepare a table of food, including fruit, beef jerky, *sikhye* (a sweet rice drink), and liquor. In front of the table, a *chuckgwan* (prayer leader) recites a written prayer for national prosperity and peace, the welfare of the people, and a rich harvest. Following the reading, the *chuckgwan*, head of the village, and community leaders burn the written prayer together.
- ④ *Madang Nori*: The guide leads the group to a vast yard, where the troupe demonstrates an enthusiastic performance. They circle around, create two circles, and make a *Obangjin* (5-directional formation) before dispersing. Also, they perform *satongbaegi*, creating four lines and subsequently four circles, as well as *jwauchigi*, coming and going in all directions, along with other formations, to make for a colorful performance.
- ⑤ *Seonsori Dapgyo*: After *Madang Nori*, *seonsorikkuns* (lead vocalists) go up to the bridge and sing songs, such as *Nollyang*, *Apsan Taryeong*, *Dwitsan Taryeong*, *Jajeun Santaryeong*, and *Gaeguri Taryeong*. Among *seonsorikkuns*, *mogabi* sings *apsori* (the first part of a song) while playing a *janggu*. Other *seonsorikkuns* sing *dwitsori* (the latter part of a song), amid the playing of *sogos* and dancing. As the *seonsorikkuns* sing on the bridge, the *japsaek* joke around, making humorous gestures.
- ⑥ *Mudong Dapgyo Nori*: After *seonsorikkuns* come down from the bridge, *minmudongs* come up to the bridge, carrying other *mudongs*, such as a *soseung mudong*, two *yeomudongs*, a *byeolgam mudong*, a *najang mudong*, and a *palbong mudong*, on their shoulders. *Minmudongs* perform *jwauchigi* and *milchigi* to the musical performance provided by the music troupe. They also sit and stand up, making a *madangilchae* formation, while the *mudongs*, on the shoulders of *minmudongs*, dance *Kkaekki Chum*, *Jara Chum*, and *Yangban Chum*.

During the *Mudong Dapgyo Nori*, the *japsaek* imitate *Mudong Nori* and intentionally fail to do so to draw laughter from the spectators. Also, they dance jocularly using their fans and the train of their clothing in front of the bridge. After the *Mudong Dapgyo Nori* is over, the music troupe performs the *Dapgyo Nori*, followed by the *japsaek*, *mudongs*, and the rest of the people gathered.
- ⑦ *Finale and Making a Wish*: Following the *Dapgyo Nori*, they finish the *Mudong Dapgyo Nori* performance by circling around the houses, the well, and the bridge. At the conclusion, villagers play *Jipbul Nori* where people tie together bales of straw as many as their age and set them on fire. Afterward, they cite, "Moon, I bow to you!" to the year's first full moon and make a wish in earnest.

Gwandeung

관동

A custom watching lights of Yeondeunghoe

A custom of watching the beautiful lanterns of Yeondeunghoe, an event of lighting lanterns and wishing for good fortune to Buddha.

In India's *Yeondeunghoe* (Lotus Lantern Festival), lanterns are lit up all night while offering flowers and incense. Also, there is a splendid parade of four-wheel carriages where Buddha and Bodhisattvas are enshrined, amid various performances presented by artists. This kind of *Yeondeunghoe* eventually had a significant impact on *Yeondeunghoe* and Gwandeung folk culture of China, Korea, and Japan.

King Gyeongmun (6th year of reign) and Queen Jinseong of Silla (4th year of reign) were said to have visited the Hwangnyongsa Temple on the day of the first full moon of the lunar year in 866 and 890 respectively. Records show that the Chinese tradition of *Sangwon Yeondeung* (*Yeondeung* on the day of the first full moon of the lunar calendar) found its way into Shilla tradition, being passed down throughout the generations.

During the Goryeo Period, there were two types of *Yeondeunghoe*, where it functioned as a national ceremony on Sangwon, or the 15th of February, with the king's participation, and as a public civilian festival celebrating Buddha's birthday on April 8th of the lunar year. The former was a countrywide event while the latter was held privately.

Yeondeunghoe, during the early and late Joseon Period, were quite different from each other. Both *Sangwon Yeondeunghoe* and *Yeondeunghoe*, on April 8th of the lunar year, were passed down during the early Joseon Period, however, writers of the time used the word, "Gwandeung," instead of "Yeondeung", in composed Chinese poetry.

Yeondeunghoe during the late Joseon Dynasty Period, is found on various almanacs, including *Dongguksesigi* (1849). It is notable that the almanacs of the late Joseon Period address only the *Yeondeunghoe* on April 8th of the lunar calendar, without the records of *Sangwon Yeondeung*. Hence, *Sangwon Yeondeung*



Jedeung parade | Jongno-gu, Seoul | National Folk Museum of Korea

assumedly disappeared during the late Joseon Period. According to record, every house had an erect pole wherein the top was decorated with the tail feathers of a pheasant and a colored silk flag. Also, they lit up as many lanterns as there are the number of children, with the belief that the light of those lanterns would bring good luck. In addition, there was a *Yeongdeung* with which people appreciated the shadow created by pieces of paper attached to the frame in the lantern. The shadow usually pictured people on horses hunting tigers, wolves, deer, roe deer, pheasants, and rabbits with hawks and dogs. Furthermore, markets sold all kinds of expensive and eccentric lanterns boasting five vivid cardinal colors. There were lanterns featuring *seongwan* (immortal officials) and *seonnyeo* (immortal woman) standing on *nanjos* (a mythical bird related to the Phoenix), cranes, lions, tigers, turtles, deer, carp, and terrapins.

On this day, a curfew was lifted, and people climbed up to mountains to the south and north to look down upon the scenery of hanging lanterns. Some wandered about the street playing instruments, resulting in bustling market streets. Also, there was a tradition where all the female elders of rural communities went to Jamdubong Peak of Namsan Mountain to see the sight of *Yeongdeung* in Seoul.

Yeondeunghoe is a major festival during the Goryeo and Joseon periods that wished for good fortune to Buddha and presented various performances, including music, dances, and plays.

However, during the late Joseon Period, Gwandeung became the primary tradition for appreciating lanterns.

These days, *Yeondeunghoe* is held at an area starting from Dongguk University through Jongno to Jogyesa Temple in Seoul around April 8th, as an effort to restore it to its original form. In Seoul's version of *Yeondeunghoe*, there is a large-scale parade of people carrying all sorts of lanterns, as well as stunning carriages and cars decorated with beautiful lanterns and enshrining a variety of sculptures, including the statues of the Buddha, Bodhisattva, elephants, and peacocks.

Gwangju Chilseok Gossaum Nori

광주 칠석 고싸움놀이

A Honam-native game clashing two gos to decide a winner

A game clashing two gos, long structures made of logs and straw, to decide a winner.

The origin of *Gossaum Nori* remains unknown due to the lack of any historical record, however, the tradition was passed down through word of mouth.

According to the data, Chilseok Village has a strong, earthly energy, based on the principles of Feng-Shui, due to its characteristic of taking the form of an ox laying down. This resulted in the villagers being unable to raise dogs there, leading to their raising geese instead. A long time ago, one Taoist passed by the village and told people to plant a ginkgo tree to counter the strong energy of the land, prophesying, “The energy of the village land will interrupt the success of young and middle-aged people.” The villagers also created a pond, symbolizing a trough, at the exact location at the mouth of the ox, and, if the ox stood up, it would have stepped on farmlands, causing significant damage. They tied the symbolic reins of the ox to the ginkgo tree, which was the sacred tree of *Halmeoni Dangsan*, and held its tail down with seven stones. In addition to, villagers played Gossaum Nori to step and press down the land on *Jeongwol Daeboreum* (the first full moon of the lunar calendar).

Gwangju Chilseok Gossaum Nori ceased around the 1940s, restored in 1969, and was designated as important intangible cultural heritage No. 33 in 1970.

Gwangju Chilseok Gossaum Nori is a classic battle-type game between two teams, closely related to rice farming culture, that holds a substantial meaning in folklore. Gwangju Chilseok Gossaum Nori, a Honam-native game, is a communal and seasonal game that requires the spirit of teamwork and unity. It is also closely related to *Juldarigi* (tug-of-war), given that it has the shamanic and religious characteristics of wishing for an abundant rice crop. In particular, *Juldarigi*, as a community game prevalent in rice growing regions, is the root of the origin of Gwangju Chilseok Gossaum Nori.



Jul deurigi



A fight between Julpaejang

Gwangju Chilseok Gossaum Nori | Nam-gu, Gwangju | 2015 | Pyo In-ju

Gwanhwa

관화

A custom using fire to perform entertaining traditions

A custom using fire in various ways to perform entertaining traditions.

Korea's fire-related customs have been transmitted in a competitive form, as well as in an individualistic form. The former has *Hwaetbulssaum* (torch battle) as the only example, while the rest fall under the latter. The most common individual fire traditions are *Gwandeung*, a tradition passed down within the Buddhist culture of India and China, and Gwanhwa, a tradition that settled within Korean culture.

Gwanhwa appeared in the late Goryeo Period around when Choi Mu-seon developed gunpowder and cannons, and following the establishment of the Joseon Kingdom, it then became official. From then on, the characteristics of Gwanhwa changed. First of all, the timing of it was once flexible. For instance, it was held in October under the reign of King Gongmin (1351 - 1374) and on the 5th day of the 5th month of the year, according to the lunar calendar during King U's reign (1374 - 1388). While entering into the Joseon Period, it was fixed either at the beginning or end of a year, similar to *Gyedongnarye* (the tradition of casting out evil spirits in December of the lunar year). Secondly, the purpose of Gwanhwa had been to raise the morale of armies under the reign of King Gongmin and to satisfy the desire to enjoy customs during King U's reign. On the other hand, during the Joseon Period, it had become a tradition to cast out evil spirits and practice soldier dances, with a recreational aspect to its nature.

Meanwhile, Gwanhwa was performed mainly by sajoks (scholar families) in non-official circles. From the early Joseon Period, sajoks enjoyed Gwanhwa as an activity of appreciating the arts, and depending upon the location, it was performed in various ways, either on a boat, in a pavilion, or on both a boat and in a pavilion.

Hahoe Seonyu Julbul Nori

하회 선유 줄불놀이

A firework custom lighting a rope hung in the air

A custom taking place among the yangban class on the 16th of the seventh month of the lunar calendar in Hahoe-ri of Pungcheon-myeon, Andong, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province.

Hahoe Seonyu Julbul Nori is a traditional game passed down among people of the Hahoe Village and appears to be a combination of the yangban (the gentry of the Joseon Period) class riding in a boat and fireworks commemorating the Buddha's Birthday. It is a folk custom where a pouch filled with charcoal powder clings to each rope hung in the air and is lit up with fire to ignite the fireworks. As a mix of fireworks, boating, eggshell lights, and a poetry reading on a boat, this tradition is the essence of the *yangban's* entertainment culture, with its classical sense of grace and dignity. The tradition consists of boating, lighting a rope, and creating a fall of flames and eggshell lights. Boat riding is a major part of the ritual, while the others are on the periphery help bolster the joy and excitement. Hahoe Seonyu Julbul Nori is performed at Buyongdae, Mansongjeong and Kkotnae in Hahoe-ri, Pungcheon-myeon. Making ropes for the fireworks can be very expensive and requires a great deal of effort as explained below.

First, mix mulberry charcoal powder with the powder of its bark, add some salt, and pour the mixture into a pouch or a bag. The pouch is made of traditional window paper and is 45 cm long and 2 to 3 cm wide. The pouch is then bound with a thick string every 5 to 6 cm along the length. Pouches are hung every 4 to 5 m along a straw rope in the early evening. The straw rope is then hung between a pine tree on the hill of Buyongdae and another thick pine tree below in Mansongjeong. A fire is lit to a pouch at the side toward Mansongjeong, and the other end of the rope in Buyongdae is pulled away slowly. The lighting ropes are hung over three to four places and takes a couple of hours for all the pouches to burn up.

Amid the moonrise of the 16th of the seventh month of the lunar calendar,



Hahoe Seonyu Julbul Nori | Andong, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province | 2015 | National Folk Museum of Korea

six to seven Confucian scholars ride a boat along the river. Those people are well-renowned scholars living in Hahoe Village along with invited poets and painters from nearby villages. The boat has four poles to hold a veil above them and small lanterns to illuminate the surroundings. They enjoy alcoholic drinks and encourage each other to recite poems in *Jeokbyeokbu*, commencing this tradition. While they enjoy the autumn breeze and the brilliant moonlight with the poetry reading on the boat, they can also watch exotic, vibrant fireworks ignite along the lighting ropes reflected on the river. Meanwhile, a pack of 200 to 300 eggshell lights take a journey from a rock called *Hyeongjeam* in the vicinity of Buyongdae, and they slowly drift along the stream to reach a small pond in *Ogyeonjeong*, before circling around to add excitement and fun to the boat riding. It is at this moment that the falling flames become visible.

When the boat riders announce that they have composed a new poem, the audience gathering at the riverside shout “Falling flames!” Then three to four people standing on the cliff at Buyongdae throw a bundle of burning pine twigs into the river. The fire turns into a glaring fireball during its fall and shatters into pieces when hitting the rocks along the cliff, making for quite a spectacle. Pouches filled with mulberry charcoal powder were usually prepared to

expel evil spirits during *Gwisinjulbul Dalgi*. The pouch of the mulberry charcoal powder was hung under a tall pole in front of the gate to repel any demons that might try to enter the house with the help of a bright full moon. An eggshell light has a wick made of paper or a cotton ball stuck to an eggshell, which is filled with oil. A more modernized version involves making them from a piece of dry gourd and a cotton ball soaked in oil.

Haman Nakhwa Nori

함안 낙화놀이

A fireworks custom using firework sticks made with charcoal powder

A custom using sticks made of charcoal powder played on the Buddha's Birthday every year in Goehang Village in Haman, Gyeongsangnam-do Province.

Haman Nakhwa Nori is assumed to have begun during the middle of the Joseon Period during the 17th century and also goes by *Nakhwayu* or *Julbul Nori*. It consists of enjoying and watching fireworks at night and was conducted to enhance the level of fun and excitement during boat riding, at a poetry reading, or at a lantern festival. The charcoal powder of tree bark fills a paper bag, which is hung at the top of a tree branch, a long pole on the protruding corners of a roof, or on a riverside cliff. Setting fire to the bag burns the charcoal powder inside, scattering tiny flames all around. The spectacle looks like flames flying across the sky, giving rise to its name, Haman Nakhwa Nori, or falling flames. Haman Nakhwa Nori involves the hanging of bags of oak charcoal powder in between lotus lanterns and lighting them on fire to watch the ensuing flames scatter down onto the water. The powder used is produced by participants with their own hands and a wick attached to the powder bag is set to fire to create the *nakhwa* (falling flames). The falling fireworks are often compared to falling flowers, which is the origin of its name.

The wicks are made by filling home-made charcoal powder within rolled

hanji paper, before hanging them up on the rope above a pond. Setting a fire to the wicks of powder bags sends burning powder flames across the sky, creating a marvelous spectacle. Haman Nakhwa Nori begins with making charcoal powder by burning oak tree and concludes with the viewing of the falling flames.

When the preparation to enjoy the ritual is complete, the main event begins. First, in a ritual called *Goyuje*, residents of the village read celebratory remarks for the playing of fireworks and pray for joy and luck to last for generations upon harmoniously performing the play. After *Goyuje*, the influential people of the local community gather around *Yeongsongnu* and set off the powder bags. A green bamboo stick, 1 m long and 5 cm in diameter, is then wrapped at one end with a cotton cloth soaked in oil and is used to set fire to the powder bags. Once the powder bags have been set off, the local residents float a raft to light the powder bags hung in the middle of the pond. It takes over an hour to set off a thousand powder bags, before everyone can enjoy two hours' worth of watching the falling flames.

Hwaetbulssaum

햇불싸움

A game battling with torches

A game battling with torches between the children of neighboring villages on the evening of *Jeongwol Daeborum*.

Hwaetbulssaum is typically conducted along with the *Jwibul Nori* (mouse fire game), *Dalmaji* (welcoming the moon), and *Daljiptaeugi* (burning of daljips) on the eve or on the evening of the *Jeongwol Daeboreum* (the first full moon of the lunar calendar). Hwaetbulssaum were often fought in mountainous rural areas, and they looked like real battle scenes at the height of performance, with the multitude of torches illuminating the surroundings. A few days before than the night of the full moon, children and young people began making as

many torches as needed. Old and worn-out bamboo brooms, bush clover wood or bark-stripped cedar called *gyeoreupdae*, were wound with straw, which were mixed with wormwood stalks, or the resinous knots of pine trees, to make them tougher. A handler stick was then put into the brush part to create a torch. For Hwaetbulssaum of Chungcheong-do Province, the end of a stick was wrapped tight with a bundle of cotton, which was then fully soaked in dense, boiled honey residues or oil to ensure a long-lasting flame.

A team is generally made up of residents from the same village, while the number of members depends on the size of the village. On the evening of the full moon, children would carry their torches outside and play *Jwibul Nori* by swinging the torches. A torch would start to light when dry grass, or leaves, are pushed into the brush part and set on fire. These fires grow in scope to reach the boundaries of neighboring villages. Children from neighboring villages then make an effort to set fires across their village boundaries, as the competitive atmosphere begins to develop into a torch battle. They play *Jwibul Nori* within their own village at first, while teasing their counterpart to start a torch battle upon the rise of the full moon. The bravest member leads the team to fight against the opposing team in a torch battle, and the leaders swing their torches at each other. As a team begins to lose the battle, the other team gets the support of young people from the same village to win the game. In turn, the losing team can also call for support from their reserves, elevating the battle into something of a real war.

When young men start a torch battle, they begin the fight carrying touches up on a hill or a mountain. Immediately following the moonrise, they light their torches and attack their opponents from the neighboring village by swinging torches and saying offensive words toward one another. They encourage members of the same team by dancing to the traditional music performed by farmers. The competing team also prepares for the battle on another mountain or hill on their side. With the signal for Hwaetbulssaum to commence, both groups run toward the other, attacking by swinging torches over their head. Some people carry torches in both their hands and move as if performing a sword dance. If competing teams come close enough, they brawl by wielding torches like a sword. They shout, deliver a blow, kick, and brandish torches, so they are highly likely to burn their body parts or clothing during battle. If a torch almost dies, then they throw it away toward the opposing team and bring out a new one. Players often burn their hair or clothing by thrown torches from their enemies, but they do not stop fighting until the last torch goes out.



Hwaetbulssaum | Lee Seo-ji | National Folk Museum of Korea



Hwaetbulssaum | Buyeo, Chungcheongnam-do Province | 2002 | National Folk Museum of Korea

The people of the village cheer on their team by performing traditional farmers' music. A team will lose the battle if it has more casualties or has lost more torches than its competitor. In addition, a team also loses the battle if its base is taken by the competitor or when many people surrender to the competing team. *Hwaetbulssaum*, *Daljiptaengi*, *Jwibul Nori* and other battles using fire are folk games based on the shamanic belief that the games can expel evil spirits, as well as invigorate the earth to enhance its productivity. *Hwaetbulssaum* began with children's *Jwibul Nori*, before concluding with a grand finale amid a vast group of neighboring villages doing battle on the eve of *Jeongwol Daeboreum*. Children are major players at an early stage of the battle, while young and middle-aged people join the battle during the later stages by organizing their teams in a systematic manner. *Hwaetbulssaum* features two primary functions. The size of the fire could foretell productivity and fortunes of the village for the year, while the mouse fires could prevent damage to agricultural produce and crops by getting rid of mice. Meanwhile, it also promotes continued solidarity and unity of villages through competition. Children can also build upon and strengthen their cooperative spirit, courage, bravery, and competitiveness through this unique traditional custom.

Hwagatu

화가투

A game memorizing traditional three-verse Korean poems

A game competing the number of memorized traditional three-verse Korean poems, written in cards spread out on the floor.

The literal meaning of Hwagatu is to compete with flower-like songs (or *sijo*, traditional three-verse poem), indicating its aim of competing the number of memorized *sijo*. As some elders in their seventies remember playing Hwagatu in the past, the game was still clearly played widely following the liberation



Hwagatu | National Folk Museum of Korea

from the Japanese Occupation in 1945. Every remaining Hwagatu card is factory-made, printed on good quality paper, and easily found in museums.

The game requires 200 pieces of thick paper cards, 5 to 6 cm in width and 7 to 8 cm in length. Among them, 100 cards (reading cards) have all three verses of *sijo* written on them, while the remaining 100 cards (spreading cards, floor cards) have only the last verses written on them. The backs of reading cards and floor cards are printed differently to more readily distinguish them. First, the 100 floor cards with the last verses are placed in front of players. Then, a moderator of the game picks one card among the rest of the 100 reading cards with the whole *sijo*, and reads a *sijo* from the beginning. The moderator occasionally looks at different places on the floor card with written *sijo* that is being read in order to confuse the players. The players then seek a card on the floor with the last verse of the *sijo* the moderator is reading. The player who finds it slaps on the card as a signal of finding it first and picks it up to read the last verse. Upon having selected the correct card, the player keeps it. If the card is incorrect, the player places the card on the floor again and the game continues. Certain rules require that the player picked a wrong card and is not allowed to keep playing the game. Such rules, however, must be determined prior to starting a game. The player to collect the most cards wins, becoming the moderator of the next round.

Hwajeon Nori

화전놀이

A custom having a picnic in a mountain or a field

A custom having a picnic on a mountain or field while cooking hwajeon on the 3rd of the third month of the lunar calendar.

In some regions, women picked azalea flowers to decorate the hwajeon (flower rice pancakes), hence the name Hwajeon Nori. Hwajeon Nori is also referred to as *Hwaryu Nori*, however, the former later became the official name. In particular, women in Gyeongsang-do Province also wrote lyrics and played the janggu, as well as cooked hwajeon in order to enjoy themselves. Hwajeonga, songs played for the Hwajeon Nori, also feature a range of themes. Hwajeonga is one of major types of songs created by women songwriters and helps create an image for listeners of the Hwajeon Nori.

The female songwriters not only enjoyed the Hwajeon Nori, which was held once a year, but also created and shared lyrics about how they felt on that day. The custom that those songs were spread across regions where women moved to get married was present up through the 1950s in Gyeongsang-do Province. Some hwajeonga did not express much joy during the playing of the Hwajeon Nori due to Confucian ideology, while others nicely conveyed the unique feelings of women during the times. It is notable that some lyrics described the sense of freedom of women from *yangban* (the gentry of the Joseon Period) families could enjoy, who typically had few chances to get out of the house and breathe the fresh air.

The hwajeonga and Hwajeon Nori were then integrated with each other in the early 19th century. Around this time, women began to enjoy hwajeonga, and once songwriting and singing became a key aspect of Hwajeon Nori, the women's Hwajeon Nori transformed into quite a different custom, especially compared to the women's version of earlier days or the contemporary male version. Eventually, Hwajeon Nori even played the role as the birthplace of *hwajeonga*.



Hwajeon Nori | Andong Hahoe Folk Village, Andong, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province | National Folk Museum of Korea

Hwatu

화투

A game using cards with flower paintings on them, also known as Go-Stop

A game using cards with flower paintings on them, symbolizing the 12 months of the year.

Often called Go-Stop, Hwatu is a game using 48 cards with 12 different families, or groups, symbolizing the months of a year. *Hanafuda*, a Japanese card game, seemed to be introduced to the Korea in the late Joseon Period and evolved into Hwatu. Though it is not clear who first propagated Hwatu, leading to its popularity in Korea, some claim that Japanese merchants in Tsushima Island could have been the source, as they often went on business trips to Korea. Since its introduction, Hwatu spread rapidly across the country and has today become the most popular means of gambling. The paintings on Hwatu cards were more or less similar to those of the Japanese *Hanafuda*, but were localized in the 1950s due to concerns over the strong Japanese taste in card paintings. Only four different colors and plastics, instead of thick paper, were used to make new cards for Hwatu. The card size in general is 35 mm wide, 53 mm long and 1 mm thick with red being the dominant color for most cards, amid the presence of other colors.

There are many ways of playing Hwatu. The most basic form of Hwatu is called *Minhwatu*, or *Neulhwatu*, where players pair up cards belonging to the same set, or month. Other forms, including *Sambong*, *Jitgottaeng*, *Seotda*, and *Go-Stop*, require players to be the first to reach 600 points in order to win the game. The number of players for Hwatu can range anywhere from two to a maximum of 10, depending on the type of game.

Players should pair cards belonging to the same month in most cases, while there are special rules for other cases, such as collecting three cards from different months and gaining additional points. Winning Hwatu requires not just earning the highest number of point the fastest, but also guessing the cards of other players so as to strategize game play, demanding both intelligence and a psychological approach. Some players can win the game even by simply collect-



Hwatu | National Folk Museum of Korea

ing cards of the lowest rank. At times, Hwatu is even used for fortune-telling among women and elderly people as a pastime.

Korean people have long played a gambling game called *Tujeon*, but Hwatu naturally replaced *Tujeon*. Due to the strong Japanese style of the original Hwatu and the anti-Japanese sentiment among Koreans, Hwatu was seldom played during the late Japanese Occupation and for several years following the country's liberation. However, the game has gradually become the most popular game among the public since that time, and its popularity may be attributed to the easy access of cards and being able to enjoy it anywhere and anytime. Hwatu, unfortunately, has become a primary means for gambling, thus tarnishing its reputation and original purpose as a simple pastime.

Since the 1970s, Go-Stop has become the alternate name for Hwatu, leading to it's becoming widespread among ordinary people in the 1980s, as it began to enjoyed by both the younger and older generations.

Hyeoncheon Sodongpae Nori

현천 소동패놀이

A custom of mowing weeds with rituals, games, and music

A custom mowing weeds with rituals, games, and music passed down to a sodongpae in Hyeoncheon-ri of Sora-myeon, Yeosu, Jeollanam-do Province.

Farmers' cooperatives called *dure* were organized in rural areas, and there were two types. First, there was a daedongpae, a cooperative with members aged over 20, and a *sodongpae*, another cooperative with members aged between 16 and 19. Hyeoncheon Sodongpae Nori refers to all forms of games related to the group labors performed during *sodongpae*. Members of *sodongpae* shared the labor of weeding rice paddies or mowing weeds. It was not only about working, but also about playing games before, during, and after the labor, which eventually led to a series of games played by group workers being reformed into the custom of Hyeoncheon Sodongpae Nori. Following the restoration of this custom in the late 1970s, they were designated as Intangible Cultural Property No. 7 of Jeollanam-do Province.

A *sodongpae* was made up of the boss and five other members called *Gong-heon*, *Jwasang*, *Apsogo*, *Dwitsogo*, and *Yeong*. The boss should be the smarter and more competent of the group and was chosen by the community elders. The custom itself was separated into three parts: the first included games played members of sodongpae are going to work, the second involved games played at work, and the third, for finishing work and returning home.

On the way to work, *sogo nori* (the playing of small drums) was considered a key part, while at work, they would sing songs of labor, before finally, playing games on the way home after work. When *sodongpae* comes across daedongpae on the street, *sodongpae* members greet them and ask how they are doing, referred to as *Jeongal Olligi*, and occasionally engage in competition upon meeting *sodongpae*s from neighboring villages. The two groups discuss and decide which game to choose between that which could enable the boasting of their talent, be it singing or dancing, or that which could create a competition of power, such as *Ssireum*, group fighting, running, grabbing, or pushing. After

all is said and done, one group is declared the winner, and the other, the loser. When the winning *dure* is announced, the losing *dure* should deliver a polite message, or *Gajeon Jeongal*, to the winner. Once the competition is over, the *sodongpaes* from the two villages get together and entertain themselves with farmers' songs and dancing until saying goodbye.

Jachigi

자치기

A game hitting a short stick using a long stick

A game hitting or bouncing a *saekkija* (short stick) using a *eomija* (long stick).

Although Jachigi had been once observed across the country, it is extremely difficult to find in the present day. There is no exact historical record telling when or where it had begun, yet Jachigi was defined by its being able to fully deploy all the functions of a wooden stick, which can be easily found anywhere without the need for special instruments. Jachigi requires an *eomija* and a *saekkija*. A typical *eomija* is 50 - 80 cm in length, while a *saekkija* is 12 to 15 cm. Wood is the primary material, which can be easily found nearby, for example, the wood of pine, acorn, ash tree, oak, and chestnut trees. A *saekkija* may have both points sharpened like a pencil (*yangnalja*), only one sharp point at a slant (*oenalja*), or both points dull (*tomakja*). Among the three types, *yangnalja* is the most common. This game can be played by more than two players, however teams are required for many players.

1. *Won Jachigi*: It is played with a circle drawn, and unlike that of *Gumeong Jachigi*, there are no levels. Game play includes sending a *saekkija* as far as possible by hitting and measuring the distance. Before starting the game, players decide the distance of the goal, 500 *ja* or 1,000 *ja* (the length of a ruler).
 - ① Draw a circle that has about a 1 m diameter and a line 3 - 4 m far from the circle.
 - ② Play rock-paper-scissors to determine the offense and the defense.

- ③ The defense stand on the line and throw a *saekkija* into the circle, but the offense can hit the *saekkija* while air-borne. The defense is then required to throw carefully so that the offense cannot hit it. If the *saekkija* lands in the circle, the offense will have only one chance to hit in the next full-scale stage. If the *saekkija* touches the circle, the offense will receive two chances. If the *saekkija* drops outside the circle, the offense earns three chances to hit.
 - ④ After the number of opportunities to hit is determined, the offense hits *saekkija* with an *eomija* to cause it to float, before hitting it once more to send it flying into the distance. If the defense catch the *saekkija*, the offense is out. However, if the defense fail to do so while the offenders gain an additional chance from the previous stage, the offense advances to where the *saekkija* fell and repeats what the players did at this stage all the chances are used up.
 - ⑤ If the offense hits the ground instead of the *saekkija* or misses the *saekkija* in the air, the offense lose one chance.
 - ⑥ After the offense use all their chances, the distance between the *saekkija* and the circle is measured using the *eomija*. Here, hitters guess and call out the distance before the actual distance is measured. For instance, a hitter may call out 30 *jas*. If the defense think the distance may be longer than 30 *jas*, they say, "Got it!" and give 30 *jas* to the offender without measuring. On the other hand, if the defense assumes that it would be shorter than 30 *jas*, they say, "Measure it!" and have the distance measured. In the latter case, if the actual distance is longer than 30 *jas*, the offense gets 60 *jas*, double the amount, or if it is 25 *jas*, for example, which is shorter than 30 *jas*, the offense receives no *ja* and is out. In this regard, the offense should call an appropriate amount. Occasionally, the distance is measured using the *saekkija* when the offense hits the *saekkija* twice while air-borne instead of once, while using the *eomija*.
 - ⑦ If the offense earns points, the game continues until the offense is out or is disqualified. For teams with four people, each player takes a turn one by one as described above. The first team that achieves the preset goal distance wins.
2. *Gumeong Jachigi*: Players dig a 5 cm-deep hole that is 15-20 cm in length. Players are then divided into teams, as in *Won Jachigi*, however *Gumeong Jachigi* is comprised of different levels. The level format differs depending on the region. However, it typically increases in difficulty, ending with the hardest level.
- ① Level 1: As the offense places a *saekkija* over the hole and gets ready to throw it using an *eomija*, the defense positions itself at several points in front to catch the *saekkija*. The offense then hits the *saekkija* as far as possible by lifting it with



Jachigi | Lee Eok-yeong | National Folk Museum of Korea

the *eomija*. If the defense catches the *saekkija*, that offensive player is out, or if the defense fail to catch it while air-borne, the defense stands on where the *saekkija* fell and picks it up to throw it into the hole after the offense places the *eomija* over the hole. If the thrown *saekkija* lands in the hole, hits the *eomija*, or falls within a 1-*ja* distance from the hole and the *eomija*, the offending player is out. Unlike level 1, the *eomija* is not put on the hole for the next level.

- ② Level 2: The offense sets the *saekkija* slantingly over the hole, hits it up, and hits it once more to send it far into the distance with the *eomija*. Meanwhile, the defenders can catch the *saekkija*, or kick it to send it inward when it is on the move. When the defenders cannot catch the *saekkija*, one defender picks up and throws it toward the hole. If the *saekkija* goes into the hole or falls within a 1-*ja* radius from the circle, the offending player is disqualified. Therefore, the offense has to hit the *saekkija* that the defense has thrown as far as possible by swinging the *eomija*. After this process has completed, the distance is measured from the final location of the *saekkija* in the same way as *Circle Jachigi*.
- ③ Level 3 (Hitting with both hands): Hold the *saekkija* in one hand, and the *eomija* in the other. Throw the *saekkija* in the air and hit it when it falls to send it

flying into the distance. Game play then continues as done in level 2.

- ④ Level 4 (Hitting with one hand): Hold both the *saekkija* and *eomija* with one hand. Toss the *saekkija* in the air and hit it while it is dropping to send it flying into the distance.
- ⑤ Level 5 (Hitting once before final hit): Hold the *saekkija* with one hand and release it. Hit the *saekkija* upward using the *eomija*, and once more to send it flying into the distance.
- ⑥ Level 6 (Spinning once before final hit): Similar to level 5, however one side of the *saekkija* must be hit to make it spin in the air before hitting it once more.
- ⑦ Level 7 (Hitting between legs before final hit): As with level 2, stand the *saekkija* at a slant and put one arm between both legs to hit the *saekkija* using the *eomija*. As the *saekkija* ascends, pull out the arm swiftly from the legs and hit the *saekkija* to send it flying into the distance.
- ⑧ Other: There are various other levels, including hitting the *saekkija* and rotating it once before hitting the *saekkija* again, hitting the *saekkija* in the air three or four times before the final hit, and more. Depending on the region, the order of the levels may change, and/or some levels may be omitted to simplify the game.

As is the case of *Won Jachigi*, the first team that reaches the predetermined goal wins.

Jaepan Nori

재판놀이

A game mimicking a trial

A folk game mimicking the exercising power of traditional government offices or a trial process.

There are two types of Jaepan Nori that include either an important mock trial, or a means utilized for emphasizing ceremony or ritual in honor of someone. *Youngyang Wonnoreum* belongs to the former, featuring amusement and the



Yeongyang Wonnoreum (Songsa Madang) |
Andong, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province | 2015 | National Folk Museum of Korea

playfulness of mock trials, while *Toseong Gwanwonnori*, belonging to the latter, is of a ritualistic nature with the emphasis placed on the march of the honored.

The main purpose of *Toseong Gwanwonnori* is having a ritualistic marching ceremony of the honored, while the meaning or function of a mock trial in this performance is of less insignificance. Its mock trial is not an interesting interpretation of trial process, but rather a mere replication of the exercising of power of the traditional government, performed as an additional event of the marching ceremony of the honored. This, in fact, is the actual core feature of this event, having been closely tied with village rituals as well. It is believed that the marching ceremony of *Toseong* was started as a ritual to wish for the well-being of the village and expel evil spirits, before evolving into a performance. *Satto Nori* of *Tongyeong*, as well as *Gwanwon Nori* performed in village rituals in the region, share the same nature.

On the other hand, *Yeongyang Wonnoreum* is primarily mainly focused on mock trials and began as pure entertainment, featuring only two stages: a marching ceremony of the honored and a mock trial, with the latter as the main event.

Although the main purpose of Jaepan Nori differ among regions, there are

some common characteristics as well. First, the participants wish for just rule of the government through these mock trials, expressing the desire of the people for fair judgment. Also, trials emphasize misbehaviors of village civil servants in order to prevent them from doing the same. Second, given the fact that Jaepan Nori was mostly held on the first day of Lunar New Year, or *Jeongwol Daeboreum*, joined by the honored, it is believed that the event was held to expel evil spirits and wish for the well-being of the village. Third, there was a clear tendency of the integration with other folk games, on top of the mere emulation of trials and marching ceremony. Lastly, the event had amusement value. It was held mainly during the off season of farming, or holiday seasons from the first day of Lunar New Year to *Jeongwol Daeboreum*, inviting the participation of hundreds of villagers in a small-scale Jaepan Nori to prepare and enjoy as a single entity. The event was an opportunity to develop unity and harmony among the community through its enjoyable and amusing properties.

Janggi

장기

A game capturing the king on the gameboard

A game capturing the other player's king on the board by strategically placing the stone pieces of each player on the board.

According to literature, Koreans started to enjoy Janggi during the Goryeo Period. Janggi is a strategy board game that can be played anytime, anywhere, regardless of age. While keeping *Daejang* (the grand general) safe from the enemy's attack, one must maneuver the opponent's king into checkmate, eventually leading to victory, demanding the rigorous mustering of one's forces for battle.

The Janggi board was usually made by carving nine horizontal lines and ten vertical lines and filling them in with ink on a rectangular, 60 x 70 cm

wooden board. Moreover, bridges, which are seven to ten centimeters long, were attached underneath the board. The stones for Janggi are usually smoothly trimmed with red and blue lettering. In general, the red, *Han*, is written in block letters and the blue, *Cho*, is written in cursive. The older, or more-skilled player usually plays the red pieces, and the younger, or less-skilled player moves the blue pieces and initiates the game by starting first. Pieces differ in size according to rank; the *Po* (the cannon), *Cha* (the chariot), *Ma* (the horse), and *Sang* (the elephant) are the same size; while the king is largest of the stones; and the *Sa* (the guard) and *Jol* (the foot soldiers) are smaller. Korean box trees are considered the best for the stones, however, other trees that naturally hard with beautiful shapes and colors, including oak trees, chestnut trees, and apricot trees, have been used to make the stones for Janggi as well.

The stones are comprised of one pair of *Jang* (kings), two pairs of *Cha*, *Po*, *Ma*, *Sang*, and *Sa*, and five pairs of *Jol*, making a total of 32 pieces and 16 stones for each player.

The pieces are arranged as follows. The *Daejang* is placed into the *Gungbat* (palace) and behind the king, two *Sa* are placed both on the right and left side with two *Cha* placed at the end of the bottom line. The *Cha*, *Ma*, and *Sang* are either placed in this order, or can be placed as *Cha*, *Sang*, and *Ma*, based on the



Jangguiduineun Moyang | Gisanpungsokdo (Replica) | National Folk Museum of Korea

player's strategic planning. Two *Po* are placed at the intersection of the third row and the second column. There are also several ways to arrange pieces. If the *Po* are placed in front of the king, this is called *Myeonpojanggi*. If *Sang* stands in front of the king, this is called *Myeonsangjanggi*, and the set with two horses placed next to the king is called *Yanggwimajanggi*.

When moving the pieces, *Chas* can move and capture in a straight line either horizontally, or vertically, and are able to catch all the opponent's stones on the same line. Since *Chas* can move freely and fast, it is considered the most powerful piece. *Pos* moves by jumping another piece horizontally or vertically and can catch all the pieces except for its counterpart on the line. *Mas* can move one step orthogonally and another step diagonally. *Sangs* can move three spaces, one step in a straight line and two and three steps diagonally and can catch any piece on the board that is about to be placed. However, *Sangs* cannot move if any piece of the opponent is placed between the straight and diagonal lines.

Jols can move one space to the front, or to the side, and catch the opponent's piece on the line, but it cannot move backward, indicating that soldiers are not allowed to retreat. As *Sas* are tasked with guarding the *Daejang* inside the palace, they can move one space in eight directions only within the palace. *Jangs* move the same as *Sas* do, but they always have to avoid the attacking courses of the opponent. If *Jangs* are placed on the attacking course, they will be soon taken off to the sound of "*Janggun*," or Checkmate, by the opponent, signaling defeat.

Janggi is a essentially play based on war and it is told that there were three types of *Janggi*: *Daejanggi*, *Jungjanggi*, and *Sojanggi* (large, medium, and small-scale styles of game play), but only *Sojanggi* still exists to this day. Even as *Janggi* is a match between two people, in many instances, onlookers usually try to help the players by making comments. This banter often leads to ensuing arguments or mockery, yet *Janggi* is the only individual game that is played in a group setting.

Jegichagi

제기차기

A game kicking a *jegi* into the air using one foot

A game kicking a *jegi*, a coin with a hole in the middle, wrapped in silk cloth or hanji, into the air with one's foot. The two ends of the silk or paper are threaded into the hole and torn into a number of tassels.

Jegichagi (a form of hacky sack) is one of the winter pastimes, primarily enjoyed among young Korean boys around the Lunar New Year. Although the game is mostly played by children, in the past, it used to be played by young adults, as well as the middle-aged.

There are various ways to enjoy this game. One can enjoy Jegichagi alone, or among multiple players gathering around to enjoy Jegichagi together. Methods of game play include *Ttanggangaji* (plain Jegichagi), where the kicking foot touches the ground for every kick; *Eogichagi*, where both feet are used alternately for kicking; and *Heollaengi*, where the foot kicking a *jegi* remains in the air without touching the ground. Other variations go on to include *Dwitbalchagi*, where players use the top lateral side of the foot to kick a *jegi* up in air; *Muljigi*, where the player continuously kicks a *jegi* and catches it in the mouth; *Kijigi*, where the player hoists the *jegi* in such a way that must be higher than the kicker's height; *Mureupchagi*, where the player kicks a *jegi* with his knee; *Eonjigi*, where the player kicks a *jegi* to place it on his head, before dropping it again to keep kicking. Jegichagi can be played individually, or two to four players can form teams to compete. There are other ways for two players or more to kick a *jegi* as a team. Typically, players will decide upon a type of game play prior to engaging in the game, while another variation called, *Samsegaji*, was also enjoyed, involving multiple rounds of playing different variations before tallying up a total score.

Playing Jegichagi develops focus as well as physical fitness. Players need to maintain balance for a long period upon one foot, while moving swiftly and accurately. Thus, the game is very helpful in developing leg muscles, as well as full body movement. Also, this is a game based on pure skill, without any room for



Jegichagi | Lee Eok-yeong | National Folk Museum of Korea

trickery. Everyone could readily play Jegichagi because a *yeopjeon* (an old brass coin), or a coin and paper, were the only required materials needed to play.

Jeju Jige Bal Geotgi

제주 지게 발 걸기

A game using the foot of a Korean A-frame carrier

A game using two twigs with additional branches for making a jige to walk on the additional branches and use the twigs as crutches, and was played among children in Jeongui of Jeju Island.

The same twigs used to make a *jige* (an A-framed carrier) were used for this game. The twig was called a *jige bal* (the foot of a jige), which had become the origin of the name, Jige Bal Geotgi. The game was played by children in the region formerly named Jeongui on Jeju Island. This game is inspired by the walking style of adults. The residents in the Jeongui region invented a way of walking using a *jige bal* to protect their shoes from getting dirty after rain, or to avoid getting their feet caught in the thick snow. Afterwards, the children in the region saw the walking style and changed it into a game. The game is all about using the *jige bal* as crutches, anyone to have access to playing this game. All it takes is picking a Y-shaped twig, thick enough for the game, and well dried, and cutting off the two arms of the twig to equal length. However, balance between their bodies, the height of the “footpad” part of the twigs, as well as their overall length, should be considered when making the *jige bal*. There are various ways of playing Jeju Jige Bal Geotgi, including *Meolligagi*, *Orae Geotgi*, *Ppalli Geotgi*, and *Neomeotteurigi*. *Meolligagi* measures the walking distance on the jige bal; *Orae Geotgi* measures the duration of walking around without falling down in a limited space; *Ppalli Geotgi* is a speed race; and *Neomeotteurigi* involves pushing and knocking down opponents. The likeness of every variation involves standing on the jige bal for as long as possible before touching the ground with the feet or falling down. The game was played by teams, or two to three people, especially among children of a village. Team competition was the most common way of playing, while the method of each variation and the related rules were very simple.

Jeju Jige Bal Geotgi was initially created so as to solve the problems of daily life, yet later evolved into a children’s game. A certain level of safety was ensured for this game, as the game was mostly played on snow to prevent injury from falling down. Both spectating and playing this game are a pure joy. Tourists can play the game for themselves at certain spots in Jeju Island, including Jeju Folk Villages. In general, people experiencing the game said that it was not as easy as it looked, but having children and adults playing the same game was quite interesting.

Jeonju Gijeop Nori

전주기접놀이

A game involving a farmers' cooperative group using flags

A folk game using flags around the 15th of the seventh month of the lunar calendar, or Baekjung, in Jeonju, Jeollabuk-do Province, enjoyed among farmers' cooperative groups.

Jeonju Gijeop Nori is also called *Yonggi Nori*, which is a part of the Hapgutmaegi that was passed down from *Ujeondeul* and *Nanjeondeul* of Jeonju. The *Hapgutmaegi* is an entertaining event where residents from several villages get together and join farmers' bands to celebrate *Sulmegi* on Baekjung, the 15th of the seventh month of the lunar calendar. The *Baekjung Nori* is called *Sulmegi* in Jeolla-do Province and was a big village party where farmers relax and encourage one another by celebrating the end of a laborious farming season. This custom was transmitted to the grand fields unfolded along both sides of the *Samcheoncheon*, a stream flowing north of Jeonju. The region has been prosperous as shown by the old saying, "People always have a meal waiting even during the drought." This saying refers to the agricultural culture in the region having been developed earlier than others, while the local people enjoyed the *Yonggi Nori* by creating village flags.

The Jeonju Gijeop Nori was originally reproduced by highlighting the *Hapgutmaji* and *Yonggi Nori* in *Sulmegi*. *Sulmegi* was a traditional event celebrating the end of the farming season in the middle of the year, and the people shared drink and food with each other around the Baekjung holiday. *Gidarugi* (flag performance) during the event was performed at the climax of *Sulmegi*, while its original purpose was to entertain farmers by encouraging them to demonstrate their physical strength and craftsmanship, yet in some cases, they crossed the line and found themselves involved in an accidental brawl. This issue, however, is merely incidental and a minor aspect of the event itself.

Hapgutmaji and *Yonggi Nori*, the prototypes of the Jeonju Gijeop Nori, are the major cultural products of Jeonju and capture the status and characteristics of the region as the capital and breadbasket of Jeolla-do Province. Jeonju Gi-



Yonggi Buditchigi | National Folk Museum of Korea

jeop Nori also embodies the cultural values and essence of the process where farmers reward themselves for their hard work and engage in fun, indulgent tastes, and the artistic spirit to celebrate the end of the season. It focuses on enhancing solidarity within the community, the pursuit of compromise, and coexistence between the villages, to help restore a sense of community spirit.

Jjolgijeopsi Nori

폴기접시놀이

A game throwing a stone across water in a way that it bounces off of the surface as many times as possible to decide a winner

A game throwing a flat stone across water in a way that it bounces off of the surface as many times as possible to decide a winner.

Jjolgijeopsi Nori (skipping stones) is a stone throwing game where players throw a flat stone by a pond, a creek, a river, or a beach onto the surface of water horizontally in order to make it skip the surface as many times as possible. This game has been played nationwide in the same manner, under the name of Jjolgijeopsi in Jeollanam-do Province, and *Dolpalmae Nori*, *Mulsujebi Tteugi*, *Mulbangul Mandeulgi*, in other regions.

The game itself, and required tools and skills, have been mentioned in recent a record titled Folk Games of Gwangju, having been explained as, “The stone should be flat and smooth, and the thrower should bend down in order to narrow the angle between the throwing arm and water surface as much as possible.” Picking the right stone is the key. An ideal stone is flat, yet not too bluntly shaped, with a smooth surface and light weight, making something similar to a roof tile piece the most suitable item for game play. Finding such stones is easy at the beginning, however, the more nearby stones are thrown, the more players are required to search further and further away for additional stones once the ones nearby are depleted. Once a good stone is found, the next

important thing is the method of throwing. The angle between a stone and water surface upon initial contact is key. The wider the angle, the higher chance of the stone diving straight into the water. Therefore, players needed to bend their waists as much as possible to narrow the angle. There two ways of competition in general: counting the number of bounces along surface, and measuring the distance a stone is thrown on the water, while the former is more commonly used.

This game is played worldwide, since the game tool is easily found everywhere, and everyone shares the same urge of throwing. Similar to hide-and-seek, or catching a tagger, stone throwing was naturally originated from the common nature of people and played everywhere around the world. This is one of the few games that has preserved its characteristic form of game play from the very beginning.

Juldarigi

줄다리기

A game pulling a rope in a test of strength to decide a winner

A game pulling a rope in a test of strength to decide a winner.

In traditional society, a team game was one of the major events in a local community. The game of Juldarigi (tug-of-war), in particular, was an event that could realize the highest level of unity among community members, as it welcomed any and every one to partake in the game. Several factors contributed to generate diversity of game play, based on factors including the size of folk group, where and when the game is held, the shape of the rope, team composition, use of rope during game play, materials to make the rope, rituals for community deities, and more.

First, the size of folk group passing down the tradition varied upon community units, such as counties and villages. For county-type Juldarigi, only

members of a town within a county enjoyed the game in peace, while most residents of the county participated in the game to celebrate a rich harvest, or to cope with more difficult crises, involving poor harvest year or an epidemic. The former was a closed-county type while the latter one was an open-county type event. Village-type Juldarigi shows a similar trend as the game performed in counties. During ordinary times, residents in a village enjoyed the game themselves, while people from neighboring villages joined to play the game if conditions permitted. The former was then referred to a closed type and the latter, an open type. The open type could be passed down to large scale villages, such as *Yeokchon* (villages where the chief administrators stayed), locations of government offices, villages with marketplaces, or strategic locations for defense. This particular version in counties and villages guaranteed the participation of members outside a local community and was also called, *Keunjul* (big rope), while small scale games were called *Golmokjul* (alley rope), *Dongnejul* (neighborhood rope), or *Aegijul* (baby rope).

Juldarigi was enjoyed on *Jeongwol Daeboreum*, *Dano*, and *Chuseok*. Since the 20th century, however, the game was primarily held on *Jeongwol Daeboreum*. The location of Juldarigi should be vast and open, yet it was traditionally decided depending upon the length of rope and the region's geographical traits.



Julssiamhaneun Moyang | Gisanpungsokdo (Replica) | National Folk Museum of Korea

In landlocked regions, the game was played in large fields and paddies, or on the road. Alleyways were used for small scale Juldarigi, and empty lots near riverside areas were also chosen as locations to conduct the game. Coastal regions also follow the similar trend as landlocked regions. In fact, some regions near the East Sea conducted games between different villages often held on the white sand beaches in the region.

Teams were usually formed in two ways, either based on gender or region. For gender-based grouping, some women teams sometimes had single men mixed in among the women, a trend commonly found in Jeolla-do Province and some parts of Gyeonggi-do Province.

Region-based grouping saw the division into east and west, south and north, or upper and lower groups. Ropes for Juldarigi were typically made of straw, while depending on periods or regions, kudzu, cedar, platycarya, brushwood, or even bamboo, were used to make ropes. In coastal regions near the East Sea, kudzu was used to make ropes until the 1920s and 1930s, and manila ropes and nylon ropes in fishing were also used for Juldarigi since then. In Moro-ri, Janggi-myeon in Pohang of Gyeongsangbuk-do Province, kudzu, brushwood, and platycarya were used to make ropes, indicating that each region used diverse materials to make ropes, depending upon their geological and ecological conditions and occupations within the community. With the



Juldarigi | Japanese Occupation | National Folk Museum of Korea

proliferation of irrigation farming, quality straws were easily accessible as rope materials, while traditional materials were still used in some regions.

Ropes for Juldarigi are either double- or single-corded. Single-strand ropes were commonly used in most regions in Jeolla-do Province and some regions in the East Sea, while double-strand ropes were used in a few regions in Jeolla-do Province, along with other remaining regions. For double-stranded ropes, each strand was either called a male or a female. In Juldarigi that involves using a single-strand rope, there is no peripheral devices to help pull the rope, whereas, a double-strand rope can be attached with many ropes branching out. Meanwhile, in Samcheok of Gangwon-do Province and Dongnae of Busan, the main rope is of multiple strands and also has numerous ropes linked to it. There are unique types of Juldarigi called *Gejuldarigi*, passed down to some regions, including inlets off the coast of Gyeongsang-do Province. In *Gejuldarigi*, two 5 to 6 m long thin ropes are knotted at one end, with two people lying face-down with the rope under their stomach, and each loose end of the rope is pulled through between the legs to be tied to the head of each person. The winner is the one able to pull the rope for the enemy to be dragged toward him.

The opening game played before pulling the rope depends upon the size and shape of the rope. For medium to large double-strand ropes, each team loads a person on the rope head (*go*) and bump their rope heads in the air to compete. The classical example is *Gossaum*, played in Chilseok-dong of Gwangju. In contrast, it is hard to find conventional preliminary Juldarigi games in using single-strand ropes.

The primary games discovered up through modern times include *Singjeon Nori* in Suncheon of Jeollanam-do Province, *Bier Nori* in Uiryeong of Gyeongsangnam-do Province, *Baksi Ssaum* in Uiseong of Gyeongsangbuk-do Province, *Jingssagi* in Jeongeup of Jeollabuk-do Province, and *Gotnamu Ssaum* in Yeongcheon of Gyeongsangbuk-do Province. Most of these games are not particularly unique in their format, nor directly related with Juldarigi in method of game play, while *Gotnamu Ssaum* of Yeongcheon is characteristic in its rope material and the game. Ropes are either “consumed” or “preserved” upon the completion of *Juldarigi*. Consumed ropes may be broken into pieces immediately, or floated on the river in the spring, while preserved ropes may be kept for one year or permanently. Ropes were typically consumed immediately following game use in most cases using double-strand ropes and were split into pieces to be used in shamanistic rituals or for practical purposes. Ropes were also stacked on the frozen river and drifted along the water in spring. People living in riverside

areas of the Namhan River believed that misfortunes also drifted away with the ropes. For ropes preserved for one year, they are wound around *Dangsan*, a mountain or hill regarded as the body of *Dongsin* (village deity), and used again in the next year's games; a custom often be seen in single-strand rope *Juldarigi* in Jeolla-do Province. For ropes preserved indefinitely, they are served as a deity and is only witnessed in Mopo-ri, Janggi-myeon, Pohang of Gyeongsang-do Province.

Juldarigi is one part of a festival, along with a ritual to community deities and folk arts, such as *pungmul* (village folk music). Juldarigi and traditional rituals also share some relation, as Jeolla-do Province enjoys it as a preliminary event prior to rituals on the day of *Dangsanje* (a ritual for village deities). Juldarigi in other regions, however, is conducted for a few hours following the ritual for community deities. For Juldarigi done prior to rituals, they are closely related with each other, as witnessed in the order of rope making, circling around the village, Juldarigi, and *Dangsanje*. Meanwhile, *Juldarigi* conducted following rituals does not have any apparent connection due to the fact they take place several hours apart.

Julleomgi Nori

줄넘기놀이

A game using a rope with different variations

A game using a rope, played solo or as a group among children, with different variations.

The time of origin of basic Julleomgi Nori (jumping rope) is unclear, however more sophisticated variations of game play using a rope are believed to have derived from modern times following Japanese Occupation. The supporting evidence can be found in the similarities between the game rules of Julleomgi Nori in Korea and Japan. Most of the songs for Korean Julleomgi Nori are

similar to *Warabe Uta* (children's play songs), while this particular game was the most popular children's game since World War I, thanks to its being a game that everyone could enjoy without any skill or practice.

The variations of game play include playing solo, in twos, taking turns, jumping with gestures, jumping to songs, jumping with questions and answers, and much more. The game is also categorized according to how the rope is held. A player can do solo jump roping by grabbing both ends of a rope, or another player can join the solo jumping in the middle to make it a game of pairs; also, a player can take one end of a rope and tie the other end to a pillar-like structure and jump. Julleomgi Nori can be played by a group where two players take both ends of a rope, while other players of two or more do the jumping; or one player ties one end of a rope to a certain place and swings it for other players.

A player can swing the rope both forward and backward when plying solo, while two players can swing it both right and left when swinging one rope together. The ropes are swung by avoiding the ground entirely, or shaken horizontally, instead of swinging.

Jumping includes doing so on both feet; jumping on one foot while switching feet; going forward by jumping on one foot or both feet; double dutch; solo jumping while performing double dutch with arms crossed; double swinging for one jump; grabbing objects on the ground; raising both arms high after touching the ground with hands; and making various gestures while jumping, such as imitating sleeping. Finally, the ways of entering and exiting while other players are swinging the rope include entering from the right side and exiting to the right or left side, or entering from the left side and exiting to the right or left side.

The play songs for Julleomgi Nori are sung in the form of questions and answers to help the game proceed forward, or in a normal form of song for added fun. In particular, the songs for gesture-making while jumping consist of directions, adding more flare to the game by harmonizing players' movements to the lyrics.

The rules and game play of Julleomgi Nori are very helpful in developing the body and mind of children, while its variations were created over generations. Group play, especially, requires every player to do their part, since cooperation is key to successful game play. This is a traditional game that serves its purpose, even amid the current era of individualism, encouraging them to develop a cooperative mindset.

Jultagi

줄타기

A tightrope-walk performance

A performance of tightrope-walking by an acrobat or a jester.

Jultagi (tightrope walking) is performed by an acrobat walking on a rope hung high between two poles, boasting diverse skills using the hands and feet, while chatting and singing back and forth with a jester on the ground. Jultagi dates back to the Late Han Dynasty of China, however remains unclear when the game was introduced to Korea.

There are two kinds of Jultagi: *Gwangdae Jultagi* and *Eoreum* (or *Joseon*) *Jultagi*. *Gwangdae Jultagi* is performed in an invited government officer's or *yangban's* (the gentry of the Joseon Period) house, and performers get paid for about 4-5 hours of their performance by focusing more on acrobatics than on exchanging jokes. *Eoreum Jultagi*, also called *Joseon Jultagi*, is performed in a large



Jyultago | Gisanpungsokdo | Korean Christian Museum at Soongsil University

space of a village for about an hour and a half. In *Eoreum Jultagi*, a ropewalker, called *eoreumsani*, cracks jokes with a jester, called *maebossi*, to show a balanced mix of acrobatics and quips, making for quite a dramatic performance. In short, *Gwangdae Jultagi* entertained the noble class, while *Eoreum Jultagi* was enjoyed by ordinary people, of which *Eoreum Jultagi* later went on to become designated as an intangible cultural property.

Although *Gwangdae Jultagi* is performed with *Samhyeon Yulgak* (various musical instruments), *Eoreum Jultagi* is performed with percussions and wind instruments, including *kkwaenggari*, *jing*, *janggu*, *buk*, and *nallari*. The ropewalker exchanges quips or satirical humor with a jester about apostate monks and corrupt *yangban*.

Nokbatjul (a rope made of cedar barks, about 3 m in wide and 5 to 6 m in length) is generally used in Jultagi. The acrobatic performance is accompanied by a musician, called *jaebi*, playing *kkwaenggari*, *jing*, *janggu*, *buk*, and *nallari*. Various numbers of *chang* (traditional songs) and *aniri* (narrations) are sung alternately during performances.

A ropewalker walks forward or backward along the rope, spins while crouching, changes legs while walking or crawling on bended knees. Other basic skills include sitting on a rope before standing up, soaring, kneeling, sitting cross-legged and turning 180 degrees. More demanding skills require turning



Jultagi | National Folk Museum of Korea

360 degrees while standing upright, diving on a rope, and walking on hands.

In general, a ropewalker transforms the basic skills of walking and sitting on a rope into diverse combinations, and often bounces on the rope with the buttocks. Sitting on a rope can be performed with one bent leg, two bent legs, or crossed legs. Ropewalkers also perform other advanced skills, including tumbling 180 degrees and turning backward.

Ropewalkers should boast of these acrobatic skills on the rope, however, they also should carry a sense of wit as well. They also need to be good singers and be able to communicate with and grab the attention of the audience.

Jultagi is a prime example of the traditional performances by professional entertainers. A ropewalker performs dozens of acrobatic skills on the rope, sings accompanying music played by professional musicians, and exchanges jokes with a jester. This custom requires strong improvisation skills of performers, as well as good communication and acting skills. In fact, it has drawn significant spotlight in recent years, thanks to the hit movie, *The King and the Clown*, featuring a ropewalker character playing a major role.

Jungma Nori

죽마놀이

A game riding a bamboo horse

A game making and riding bamboo horses among boys.

In general, Jungma Nori (bamboo horse riding) is being passed down in regions with many bamboo trees while being used in various ways. The origin of this game is unknown, however the game itself was played not only in Korea, but also in China and Japan. In Korea, the trees were grown mostly in the southern regions and on Jeju Island, where Jungma Nori was played as well.

Jungma Nori is a speed race to reach, and return from, a predetermined point. Since the game uses a bamboo horse, it is also called *Daemaltagi* (an-



Jukma Nori | Lee Seo-ji | National Folk Museum of Korea

other Korean expression meaning bamboo horse riding), or *Jukjok* (bamboo feet). Mostly, the game was played on warm spring or cool autumn days. The playgrounds were illuminated alleyways, wide village playgrounds, or hills, and was played by either two people or two teams. Sometimes it was a speed race to reach and return from a goal, while other times it was a survival match that required knocking down opponents. Two types of bamboo horses were used for this game. The first type consists of bamboo sticks with leaves or bamboo brooms. This type of bamboo horse was made at a length that the children could grab the front side with hands, while the backside could be dragged along the ground. Sometimes, the horses were made long enough to carry multiple riders. Children would then pretend to whip these large horses with a stick. The second type is made with two bamboo sticks cut to a similar height as the children with 30 cm long horizontal pedals at points 30 cm high from the lower end. Children would stand on the pedals and walk.

Jungma Nori was not only played as a mere form of entertainment. The game was an important traditional physical training for boys, promoting their

physical development, as well as their mental strength and cooperative mindset. In addition, since *Jungmagou* (childhood friends having enjoyed Jungma Nori together), the popular saying, is derived from Jungma Nori, the game had a significance in terms of linguistic culture as well.

Jwasuyeong Eobang Nori

좌수영어방놀이

A work song sung by naval forces and fishermen when fishing

A song sung by naval forces and fishermen when fishing in Suyeong-dong, Busan, while fishing for anchovies or recreating related songs.

The understanding of Jwasuyeong Eobang Nori requires knowledge about *buri*, a traditional fishing method, comprised of *Baehuri* and *Gathuri*. *Baehuri* required fishermen to cast a fishing net into the water to make a circle around a school of fish and then pull both ends of the net, whereas *Gathuri* required fishermen to cast a fishing net at the starting shoreline and continue to dip the net until the boat moves to make the arch of a semicircle, before returning to other end of the shoreline and pulling both ends of the net along the shore to catch fish. Jwasuyeong Eobang Nori (fishermen's cooperative group in *Jwasuyeong*) utilizes *Gathuri* and is done in the coastal areas where the ocean floor is flat or at a slight incline comprised of sand. This implies that the majority of fish caught in this way will consist of anchovies and other coastal species.

The captain of the boat gives notice to fishermen right after catching the movements of a school of anchovies moving out into the water. The captain then guides the fishermen to fix one end of the hemline to a point on the shore, having guided ropes at the edges of a fishing net, before rowing their boat at full speed to the direction where the anchovies were spotted while holding the other end of the hemline on the boat. Fishermen throw the fishing net to encircle the school of anchovies and come back to the shore with the



Jwasuyeong Eobang Nori | Sari Sori | Suyeong-gu, Busan | 2015 | National Folk Museum of Korea

other end of the hemline still loaded. As many as 10 to 15 fishermen then pull each end of the hemline to the shore. Meanwhile, the captain orders to row the boat to the center of the fishing net and keep the anchovies from running away by maintaining the balance of the net.

As the fishing net reaches the shore at about one-meter deep, fishermen jump into the water to reduce the volume of the net. If the area swept by the netting's edge gets small enough, the fishermen throw anchovies into the container sitting at the center of the net.

The number of workers needed in anchovy fishing is about 40, including a captain, an oarsman, five to six fishermen on the boat, and 20 to 30 fishermen pulling the fishing net on the shore. Anchovy fishing was hard work, requiring the collective efforts of many people and fishermen, who would sing in chorus to invoke enthusiasm and develop a rhythm. They sang when preparing the fishing net, scooping up anchovies, dancing with joy when they caught a large batch of fish, as well as when pulling up the fishing net.

Reproduced as a folk game, the Jwasuyeong Eobang Nori is comprised of four parts, including *Naewangsori*, *Sarisori*, *Garaesori*, and *Chingchingsori*. In its original form, a ritual was held before, or after, fishing, when the captain would wish for the success of their outing, or when he honored the "dragon king of the sea" for his crew's success. Though the ritual is often skipped in the actual conducting of Jwasuyeong Eobang Nori, participants hold a simple, preliminary ritual it is held in a coastal area.

The cultural values of the Jwasuyeong Eobang Nori are remarkable, as it contributed to the transmission of old forms of organized fishing, know-how, and songs sung during labor. This custom also depicts the organization and management of the fishermen's cooperative group, the method of catching fish using traditional fishing methods, and the singing of song while fishing. In addition, it helps listeners learn not only about the characteristics of traditional music, but also a fishermen's view of the world and their aesthetic sensibility.

Jwibul Nori

쥐불놀이

A game setting fire to a field to exterminate rats

A game burning a fire on a field to exterminate rats on the rat day of the first month of the lunar calendar.

Jwibul Nori is a folk game to set fire to farming fields to prevent disasters caused by harmful insects on the rat day of the first month of the lunar calendar. Jwibul Nori is accompanied by *Hwaetbul* (torch) Nori on the 14th of the first month of the lunar calendar, or in the evening of *Jeongwol Daeboreum*. It was performed to welcome a new spring by driving out evil spirits, to wish for a rich harvest in the coming season, having burned weeds and eggs of harmful insects and to make natural fertilizers for spring buds.

Setting fire to daljip (the Moon House, a large bonfire structure) on *Jeongwol Daeboreum* as the signal, farmers set banks around rice paddies and fields on fire to burn off weeds and habitats where rats and harmful insects thrive; which, in turn, is beneficial to farming. The ashes of burnt weeds are natural fertilizers and absorbed into the ground to help promote the growth of fresh grass and protect banks of paddies and fields. The fire also eradicates field mice that transmit infectious disease. Jwibul Nori also evolved into a team battle, and farmers believed that the winner, or team creating a greater fire, could prevent disastrous happenings within the community, amid expectations for a rich harvest. This may be regarded as a kind of indirect fortune-telling and a mock ritual, where farmers often would predict the year's harvest and fortune for the coming year, relying on the productive powers of the full moon and fire. The customary battle on *Jeongwol Daeboreum* is also known as Pyeonjeon or Byeonjeon, while the game often developed into a source of entertainment, and even into a team battle to provide a means of fortune-telling. Jwibul Nori is also mixed with *Deulbul Nori* where torch holders set fire to weeds and grasses on the banks of paddies and fields. This required farmers to make torches from bush clover wood and cedar, and carry them to fields and paddies to burn off weeds. Two teams of farmers holding torches run around to see who can set



Jwibul Nori | National Folk Museum of Korea

fire to more areas, or simply compete to try and blow out an opponent's enemy torches.

Amid the progress in industrialization and urbanization, Jwibul Nori has evolved. It is performed on the eve of *Jeongwol Daeboreum*, rather than the first rat day, in some regions. The combination between Jwibul Nori and the torch game welcoming the full moon is simply called *Jwibul*. As of recently, this custom is gradually dying out due to the banning of setting any fires for fire prevention, while pesticides, rather than fire, are now used to kill harmful insects. Today, children use empty cans by punching holes on the bottom and on the side, with a metal wire through those holes to make a ring to hold. Jwibul Nori is performed in locations where the burning of a *daljip* is set to take place. It should be held in large fields, or paddies, to guarantee a lower risk of fire. Game employing the use of fire cans were enjoyed, along with Jwibul Nori, while the elderly recalled that such games date back to the time when cans began to be mass produced from the Korean War. Canned foods were one of varying war supplies at the time and people began to use empty cans for game play, naturally merging with the tradition of Jwibul Nori. Around midnight, fire wood inside swinging fire cans are almost burnt off with only embers remaining at the bottom. People would then flock to a low hilltop or a riverside to throw fire cans up into the sky, which painted a radiant picture in the sky



Jwibul Nori | National Folk Museum of Korea

scattering hundreds of tiny flames. As people believed that flying a kite during the first month of the lunar calendar would expel bad fortune, they also seemed to hope that throwing fire cans into the sky at the finale of the event could “burn off” misfortune to bring in good luck. This led to the people’s desire to have a rich harvest, while eradicating any kind of bad luck and eliminating rats to be harmonize into what we know as *Jwibul Nori*. The presence of agrarian culture, however, loses its ground with time, resulting in its gradual disappearance with only modern-day performances that remain as a part of public events held by local governments.

Kkaegeumbalssaum

깨금발싸움

A game making players collide against each other while standing on only one leg to decide a winner

A game involving players colliding with each other to knock down their opponent while standing on one leg by bending the other leg forward or backward and holding it with their hands.

Kkaekkeumjil is a dialect for the word, *anggamjil*, or hopping, while The Kkae-geumbalssaum Battle is also called *Dakssaum* (chicken fight). It can be referred to as *Mureupssaum* (knee fighting), as the players knees collide with each other, as well as, *Oebalssaum* (one-legged fighting), since only one leg is used to stand on while the other one is lifted. Unlike other animals, humans have to learn how to walk. Standing on one foot and hopping can be regarded as an extension of walking practice. At first, the goal of these activities was to stand on one foot for as long as possible, or to go as far as possible by hopping. However, later on, Kkaegeumbalssaum was developed as a competition measuring the players’ strength and technique. It is easy to play and requires no preparation. In fact, its popularity extends beyond that of children into adults when-

ever there is time. This is an independent game, yet can also be used as a part of other games.

Usually, male adults, or children, play this game by trying to push each other down using their body while standing on only the left foot with the right leg bended and held behind their back. Sometimes, there is a circle drawn on the ground that forms a kind of a ring where players try to push opponents outside of the ring or simply knock down opponents.

During contact with opponents, players use their shoulders, head, or torso, to push opponents, as the use of hands is prohibited. Once a player falls, is knocked down, or stands on two feet after losing balance, the game is over.

Kkaegeumbalssaum is also enjoyed on a larger scale in competitive *nori*, such as *Squid Nori*. In that case, it functions as more of a larger game, rather than a separate game.

Around the age of 10, the body of a child starts to mature and gains more strength. Children can then find out just how much they have grown through comparing themselves with others. However, most children tend to think they are stronger than they actually are, giving them a chance to objectively verify their strength through this game.

Kkorittagi

꼬리따기

**A game placing people in a row by grabbing the waist of the person in front,
and then chasing another row to pull off the person at the end**

A game placing players, typically girls, in a row, with each player grabbing the waist of the person in front and chasing another row of players to pull off the person at the end.

While existing all across the country, Kkorittagi has a subtle variance of different names and rules depending on the region where it is played. Traditionally,

there are two types of playing methods. The first involves multiple children hugging the waist of the child in front using two arms and bending their waist so as to be ready. As the game starts, the child at the front defends the child at the end of a row from a child playing the role of a wildcat, or a ghost, who tries to remove the last child from the row. Whereas the second involves players creating two rows in the same way as the first variation. However, the first child of each row has to remove the person at the end of the opponent row. In the first version, it is relatively easy to win game, but in this second variation, since children are connected to their teammates, it is much more difficult to remove the child at the end of another team as the row leaders must simultaneously drag their own team members. In the first version, the success of the wildcat, or the ghost, in removing the child at the end results in the failure of the row leader playing the role of a mother hen, or a mother wild goose, in protecting the children. In this regard, the row leader failing to protect the rest of the row receives a penalty and becomes the next wild cat, or ghost. On the other hand, the ghost wins the honor of being part of the gallantry after removing all the children from the row.

Kkorittagi is a nationwide game among girls in largely similar forms, with slight variations per region. Unlike other games, it doesn't require any tools. Also, it is a game that emphasizes the strength of being united as one due to the physical connection of many bodies in a single line. Moreover, the role of the row leader is highlighted in the process of removing the player at the end of another team's row while players are holding the waist of the person in front. This game holds the row leader accountable for the failure of protecting the player at the tail by forcing the row leader be the next ghost. This game arouses both excitement in expressing a competitive spirit, while also raising one's sense of solidarity and responsibility.

Kkotchatgi Nori

꽃찾기놀이

A game taking a team member from the other team

A game taking a team member from another team through continuous rounds of rock-paper-scissors along to a song.

Depending on the region, it is either called the Kkotchatgi, *Saramppaeasaogi Nori* (Steal the Player Nori), and *Dalmaji Nori* (welcoming the moon).

Each team has four to five members. A space that is big enough for many people to shout is required for the game, while the larger the area, the better. At first, players create two teams and stand face-to-face. Also, the teammates hold each other's hands when standing side-by-side. Once everyone is ready, team A starts to walk toward team B, saying, "Why did you come, why did you come, why did you come to our house?" until their song ends, while team B walks backward. After team A's song has ended, team B begins to walk forward singing their song, saying "We came, we came, we came to look for a flower," while fending back the team A.

Along to the song, team A asks, "What kind of flower did you come, come to find?" In return, team B answers, "We came, came to look for '...' flower," calling out the name of a certain flower (person) in team A. The person called by team B and one person of team A play a round of rock-paper-scissors, and the loser becomes the teammate of the winner. After rearranging the lines, the winning team walks forward, saying "We won the flower basket!" Meanwhile, the lost team pulls back, saying, "How terrible it is we lost!" This process continues until one team takes all the members of the other team.

The point of the game is placed in threatening the other team. Players raise their voices and stampede the other team to domineer them in a repetitive way. Here, *Gawi Bawi Bo* for taking a member of the other team is just another way to continue game play.

Kongjumeoni Nori

콩주머니놀이

A game using beanbags

A game using beanbags made of ball-shaped cloth with beans inside.

Kongjumeoni (beanbags) refer to the bags filled with beans. If a bag is filled with other material, the name is changed accordingly (e.g. sandbags, red bean bags, etc.). The beanbags are usually called *ojami*, a Japanese word used in western Japan referring to *otedama* (handballs).

Kongjumeoni Nori is played primarily by girls, under various rules. When the game is played indoors, from one to four players, it is comprised of juggling-style games, whereas when played outdoors, players are divided into teams and engage in dodgeball-style games.

The juggling version of Kongjumeoni Nori varies with numbers of the bags. Game play requires placing two bags in one hand and throwing one bag into the air, before throwing the other one into the air just before the first one is caught. Using two hands and three bags is played in a similar way, throwing the last bag into the air, and repeatedly catching the bags while continuously throwing each bag into the air one by one in turn. There are many other ways to play as well. This style of game play is believed to have derived from other games, such as *Nongju* and *Nonghwan*.

The dodgeball version of Kongjumeoni Nori is a team battle played by groups of players. First, the players play *Gawi Bawi Bo* to be divided into two teams. The winning team is called *sukong* (male bean), while the losing team is called *angkong* (female bean). *Angkong* plays defense in a rectangular board drawn on the ground. *Sukong* attacks them as team players stand outside the board by throwing and catching a bag among themselves, then throwing the bag at the people in the board when the time is right. The one that gets hit by the bag is out and must leave the board. If an *angkong* catches a thrown bag, the ousted player can be revived or remove the thrower from the game. If a *sukong* could not catch the bag thrown by another *sukong*, that player is out and excluded from game play. The game continues in this way until all the entire

angkong team is out. This game is called *Kongjumenggi* in Jeju Island, the Jeju dialect meaning bean bags.

Besides the above style of game play, there are other ways of play, including throwing the bags into a basket hung on top of a long stick, or hitting a *hung bak* (a case) with bean bags to crack it. The first team to fill the basket, or crack the *bak*, is declared the winner.

Malttukbakki

말뚝박기

A game taking turns to jump onto an opponent

A game taking turns to become a horse or a horserider by designating roles or being divided into two teams of horses and riders.

Malttukbakki was often played primarily by boys, however, female high school students occasionally enjoyed this game in the 1990s. It still remained the most popular among young boys and male teenagers. In the past, horses were the best mode of transportation. In particular, children wanted to ride a horse, yet rarely had a chance to do so. This unmet desire materialized within this game long ago. Korean Games, published around the end of the Joseon Period, stated that this game was played not only in Korea, but also in Japan, referring to it as “Nobleman Play.”

The way to play this game can be largely categorized into two types: one is a horseman game, where a horse is moving; and the another is a horseback riding game where a horse doesn't move. In the horseman game, a round of rock-paper-scissors determines the horses and the horsemen. The player unable to win by the end of the game becomes a horse, while the second-to-last player becomes a horseman. The horseman puts the head of the horse at the waist of the horseman and covers the eyes of the horse so that the horse cannot see other players. By doing so, the horseman prevents the horse from kicking oth-



Malttukbakkhi | Lee Eok-yeong | National Folk Museum of Korea

ers who would try to mount the horse. As the game begins, the horse keeps moving or kicking legs high and backward in the air, to stop others from riding forward. If the horse kicks a player, that person becomes the next horse while the primary horse becomes the next horseman. While the horse is moving, other players should try to mount the horse as quick as they can. Since more than one player could be on the back of the horse, the horse may not be able to bear the weight and flop down to the floor. In that case, the primary horse has to continue that role in the next round as well. While a player is riding the horse, the horse should twist the body to the left and right to cause the rider to fall off, while the rider should hold on for as long as possible.

The horse riding game is an offensive and defensive team match. One player of the defensive team stands against a wall or a tree. Afterward, other players of the defensive team line up in front of that person face-to-face. Then, they bend their waist, put their heads between the legs of the person in front, and hold those legs with both hands to create a large horse. Next, the offensive team runs from a far distance to acquire acceleration and vaults onto the horse with their hands, one by one. Once the first jumper lands on the end of

the horse, there is no more space for the next jumper. In this regard, the first of several jumpers should move on to the front side of the horse. If a jumper falls or a foot of the riders on the back of the horse touches the ground, the teams change their respective roles. On the other hand, if the line of the defensive team collapses because the team is simply too weak, they continue on to the next round without switching roles. If the line holds up until the last rider, the front players of both teams play a round of *Gawi Bawi Bo*. The winning team then plays offense in the next round as the game continues.

Mang Chagi Nori

망 차기놀이

A game kicking stones with one foot within a game board drawn in the dirt

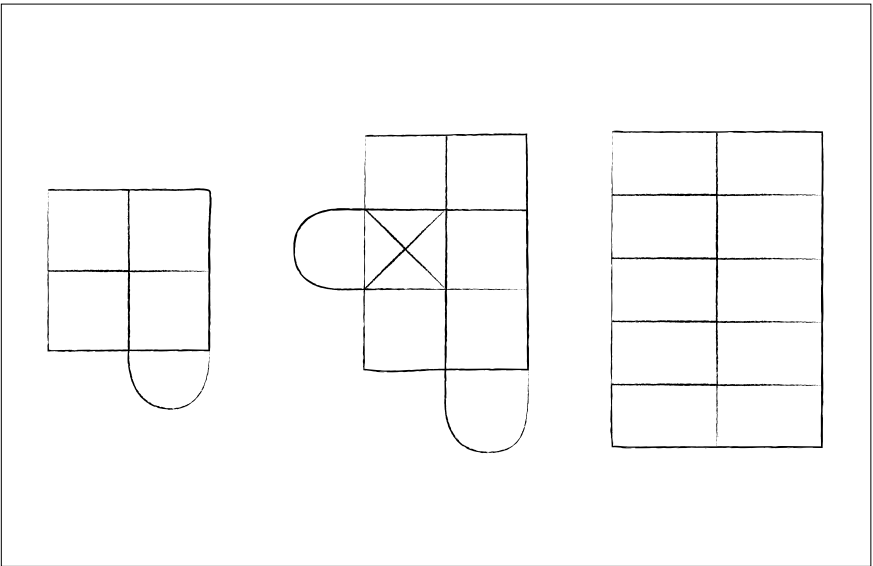
A game kicking stones with one foot within a game board drawn in the dirt to try and be the first to exit the board.

Mang Chagi Nori is one of the few that has a relatively ample record of historical account. The game is typically meant for one or two players, while for games involving more than two, everyone is divided into teams. The game board was mainly drawn in the dirt at a vacant lot or corner in a yard and each region offers different variations. The basic framework of the board is similar, however depending on the exact variation, the game play slightly varies. The rules for the most basic variation, *Nae Bat Dolchagi* (Kicking Your Square's Stones) are as follows.

First, a square is drawn on flat ground, which is divided into four spaces. Each space is allocated with a number from 1 to 4, and below the first space, a semicircle is added as an exit. In addition to the board, palm-sized *mangs* (palm-sized stones or even *mokjas*) are prepared with round flat stones. Once everything is prepared, the order of turns is determined to start the game. The first stage is called, "level 1," where a player throws a mang into the first

space and begins. The player should jump into space the first space and kick the mang into the second space with one foot. During this process, the player should not step on the line of the board, nor can the mang stop on the line. If so, the player is out and the next player is up. Players have to pass through the third and fourth spaces and go back to the exit having passed through the first space once more to complete level 1. After completing level 1, the player proceeds to level 2 by throwing the mang into the second space. In this level, the player can step on the first space with one foot and jump to the next space, which is slightly easier than what the player has to do in level 1. The higher the level increases, the easier game play becomes. Sometimes, there is an additional space called, “the sky,” where a player reaches it after completing level 4. Here, the player puts the *mang* on a foot and kicks it into the air to grab it while airborne. Upon success, the player can own a space.

The children in most places have loved Mang Chagi Nori for quite a long time. Although the shape of the board is generally a square, there have been a lot of other shapes, including circles and combinations consisting of a square and a circle. In addition, the numbers on the board are normally allocated in numerical order, while, in some cases, they are numbered at random. Yet, it is hard to find this game these days since the game requires a lot of spare time and some technical skill – conditions which are in short supply in the modern day.



A Mang Chagi Nori game board

Masan Nongcheong Nori

마산 농청놀이

A game imitating the working of *dure* and conflicts between villages

A folk game encompassing the work preparing for the main event, and the battle between two *nongcheongs* of Changwon (the former name of Masan), Gyeongsangnam-do Province.

Masan Nongcheong Nori was originated from *dure* (farmers' cooperative groups). Traditional Korean societies based on farming had various types of groups for cooperative work, and *dure* was the most popular form among them. The estimated time of origin of *dure* is the end of the eras of clan societies or tribal nations. Also, it is believed that *dure* eventually evolved into *nongcheong* (self-governing groups of farmers for community-level production and cooperation).

Each *dure* had a representative called *Pyojigi*, and its own farmer's music band for entertainment. A *dure* was a village-level, self-governing organization that took care of the economy, military, and labor issues for community-level production and cooperation, as well as group sports and entertainment. A *dure* called other *dure* with honorable titles, such as teacher, student, older brother, and younger brother. However, as time progressed, the concept of the titles was changed because of the flag battles among *dure*, knocking down the flags of other *dure*. A winning *dure* became an "older brother," and the rest of the losing *dure* became its "younger brothers." As a result, each *nongcheong* became a local-level social group encompassing one *dure*, as an older brother, and dozens of other *dures*, as younger brothers. The concept of Masan Nongcheong Nori originated from this flag battle using *dure* flags (eventually called *nongcheong* flags at a later period). Initially, *nongcheongs* were primitive communities formed naturally, and then intentionally evolved into social groups promoting unity among local societies, as well as cooperation for farming work and sports.

In Masan, the custom of *dure* had been passed down continuously as a form of *nongcheong*, and the flag battle between *nongcheongs* were mainly fought over a rock called *Sangtubawi*. The residents in the area believed the winning non-

gcheong, which raised its flag first on top of the rock on *Baekjung* and offered sincere prayers to it, could enjoy the peace of family, prosperity of descendants, a rich harvest, and protection from the injustice of government authorities and ill rumors. Also, it was believed that single men and women could find an ideal partner for marriage within the year, if they could successfully fit small rocks into the cracks of the rock by throwing them from a nearby hill. Consequently, every nongcheong fought the flag battles to reach the wish-granting Sangtubawi first.

Masan Nongcheong Nori was suspended in 1919 following the March 1st Movement, before being restored in 1925. However, the residents stopped playing the game once more, due to the prohibition of access to the event site after the construction of a water storage for a water supply system behind Eobokgol Village. Later on, the local residents founded the Masan Folk Culture Preservation Group in 1981, and restored, yet again, Masan Nongcheong Nori based on the transmitted culture through the generation by former participants or spectators of the game and the results of academic research. The game was designated as Intangible Cultural Property No. 6 of Gyeongsangnam-do Province on August 6th, 1983. Currently, the Changwon Folk Culture Preservation Group is in charge of the generational transmission of the game.

Masan Nongcheong Nori consists of four *madang* (chapters), including *Gije*, *Jaenggijeon*, *Chukwon*, and *Heungchui* and *Hoehyang*. The following is a detailed description of each *madang*.

The first *madang* begins with *Gije* (a flag ritual) before the departure to *Sangtubawi*. The flags used for the game are *Nongcheongdaegi* (grand flags representing each nongcheong), 8 m in length and 1.5 m in width. The participants lay a straw mat before the flag and offer pollack, wheat cakes, and a local food named *Kkombaeagi*. First, *Jwasang* (a leader of a ritual) offers a cup of ritual drink and bows to the flag, before the rest of the crowd bow down as well. After the ritual, people gather around the flag amid the music of a village folk band, then depart to *Sangtubawi* with battle cries.

The second *madang* is the flag battle named *Jaenggijeon*. When the battle begins, nongcheong members of Gugang Village and Bongjeong Village enter the site of the event in the order of a person holding a bamboo horn, village folk bands playing festive music, the *Nongcheongdaegi* guarded by a group of men with the *Jwasang* sitting on *deulme* (a type of carrier) and giving orders to everyone. The male villagers then enter the site with *jige* (A-framed carriers) carrying various tools and food on their backs, before female villagers enter

with earthenware on their heads. The participants march around the site until contact is made between the two teams and bamboo horns make a sound signaling the contact. Under the command of the *Jwasang* delivered by the shouting and waving of a long bamboo stick, a group of people surround the *Nongcheongdaegi* of their team, and the rest of them form a formation to attack the largest flag of the opposing team. Both teams move back and forth in a circle facing each other, then rush to the flags of the opposing team with battle cries after a signaling sound of a bamboo horn. Messy fights are fought among the guarding groups and attacking groups, while, the team unable to defend its flag, ending up with a fallen flagpole with the flag detached from it, loses the battle. The winning team shouts with joy, dances around waving a wheat straw mat, then runs to the *Sangtubawi* and sticks their *Nongcheongdaegi* on it. The losing team expresses sadness by pounding on the ground, then follow the suggestion of the folk band of the winning team to reassemble their flag and put it under the rock. Participants put many small flags under the main flag to represent unity under the large flag.

The third *madang*, *Chukwon*, asks for the blessings of *Sangtubawi*. *Nongcheong* members commence this chapter by placing a wheat straw mat before the *Sangtubawi*. Women place food they brought on the mat, then bow down altogether and recite a wishful prayer.

There are many ways to ask the blessings of *Sangtubawi*. Some people use water in large bowls to wash away bad spirits, others light fire with paper on their palms and send it flying away. People suffering from disabilities approach the rock and make wishes in earnest while putting hands together in front of their chests.

The fourth *madang*, *Heungchui* and *Hoehyang*, is about enjoyment and sharing. Members of both *nongcheong* enjoy their fill of food and drink, and play many games and sports together, while the games played during this chapter tend to vary. For example, sometimes *Taekkyeon* (a Korean martial art) is performed, or *Juldarigi* competitions of between two groups of people are played, forming two lines by holding the waists of the people before them while the two people in front of both lines hold each other's arms. Also, musical contests of village folk bands are held, and people enjoy *nongbuchum* (a farmer's dance) and other various dances. A *sangmeoseum* (a leader of farm servants) is selected during this chapter through a round of *Ssireum*. Two stronger farm servants from both teams conduct a round of *ssireum*, and the winner becomes the *sangmeoseum*. The winner then receives bags of rice as a reward and marches on a

jakdumal (a type of carrier) carried by two men. *Jwasangs* and farmers enjoy the scene with dancing and shouts of joy. It is a moment representative of the characteristic of *Baekjung* as the festival for farm servants.

Finally, each *nongcheong* plays farmer's music and dances around in front of *Sangtubawi*. Finally, both teams get together and enjoy each other's company with *pangut* (folk music performance), before returning to their respective *nongcheongs*.

Masangjae

마상재

A series of performances performed on galloping horses

A series of acrobatic movements performed on running horses, including standing upright, headstands, hanging on the side, and moving from one side to another.

Masangjae refers to a series of acrobatic movements performed on running horses, while along with *Gyeokgu* (Korean polo), Masangjae is generally con-



Jumaimmasang



Jwauchilbo

Masangjae | Muyedobotongji | Seoul National University Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies

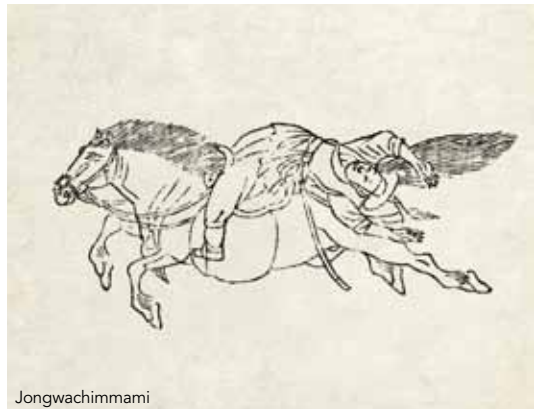
sidered a kind of equestrian martial arts. Despite an unknown time of origin, it is assumed that Masangjae has a considerably long history given the fact that horses were already used in Korea during the Bronze Age. In particular, Goguryeo was a kingdom known for great horsemanship and equestrian martial arts, which were influenced by other countries throughout Asia. It is also believed that the country had various forms of Masangjae due to this diversity in influence.

A detailed description of Masangjae can be found in a record on Yi Seong-gye, King Taejo of the Joseon Period. He was particularly skilled at mounted archery, as well as Masangjae. According to a documentation written in 1362 during the late Goryeo Period, Yi Seong-gye avoided an enemy general's spear using the *mom sumgigi* (hiding) movement of Masangjae during a battle with the army of the Yuan Dynasty. The movement involved hanging upside down on the left side of a running horse by hanging on the back of the right knee on the saddle, grabbing the back of the saddle with the right hand, and dropping the body to the left side. The fact that he used the movement to dodge the enemy's attack proves that Masangjae was widely used during the Goryeo Period.

During the reign of King Gwanghaegun of the Joseon Period, a competitive contest for horse-riding skills was held in Salgoji, Seoul, where the king partook in the competition. After that, during the reign of King Injo, two skilled mounted martial artists named Jang Hyo-in and Kim Jeong accompanied a mission to Japan and demonstrated Masangjae at the request of the Japanese government. Since then, skilled Masangjae artists had become an important part of the Joseon missions to Japan. According to a record written in the 18th century, Japanese people were deeply impressed by Masangjae, and



Jwadeungnijasinsin



Jongwachimmami

Masangjae | Muyedobotongji | Seoul National University Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies

created their own school of mounted martial arts called *Daieihonlyu*.

King Hyojong of the Joseon Period tested the usefulness of Masangjae through *Gwanmujae* (special military service examinations). It seemed the king emphasized the importance of standard martial arts and equestrian martial arts for his plan for expedition to the Manchu Qing Dynasty. In addition, Masangjae was mentioned in a poem by Jung Yak-yong (penname Dasan). He accompanied the king's Masangjae inspection and transcribed what he saw into a poem. The poem confirms that the practice of Masangjae was prevalent in 18th century Joseon and the king himself reviewed it.

The movements of Masangjae were well described in a book called *Muyedobotongji*, published during the reign of King Jeongjo of the Joseon Period. The book described various movements of Masangjae primarily using one horse. Specifically, the seven following movements and pictures were described: *Jumarimmasang* (standing upright), *Jwauchoma* (moving from one side to another), *Masangdorip* (headstand), *Hoengwamasangyangsa* (lying horizontally), *Jwaudeungnijangsin* (hiding body behind the side of a horse), *Jongwachimmami* (leaning backward), and *Ssangjumarimmasang* (standing on two running horses).

In addition, other difficult movements using two horses were created based on the basic movements in the book.

The horses used for Masangjae were tall, colorful, and well-trained, however stallions were preferred to mares. *Burumal* (white horses), especially, were considered the best for Masangjae, while *Garamal* (black horses) with white hooves were preferred as well.

Jeollip and *Houi* (Masangjae uniforms) were the basic outfit for soldiers performing Masangjae. They wore *Jeollip* on the head, or helmets instead. *Jeollip* was a kind of military hat, also known as *Beonggeoji*. The clothing for the body was orange *Houi* and pants.

Masangjae had been passed down continuously through the middle to the end of the Joseon Period, the periods when the importance of using military horses was relatively lessened. However, its systematic practice was discontinued during the late Joseon Period. In the 1990s, Masangjae was restored by *Hanminjongmasang Muyegyegokgudan* (a group dedicated to restoring Korean polo).

Miryang Beopeung Sangwon Nori

밀양 법흥 상원놀이

A custom wishing the well-being of Beopeung Village

A custom wishing for the well-being of Beopeung Village of Miryang-si, Gyeongsangnam-do Province.

Beopeung Sangwon Nori used to be a *Seonang Gut* (a ritual for a tutelary deity), which became a playful custom, along with the other customs performed on *Jeongwol Daeboreum* (the first full moon of the lunar calendar). As *Sangwon* refers to *Jeongwol Daeboreum*, every *Jeongwol Daeboreum*, the villagers of Beopeung gather together around their *dangsan* shrine and perform a *dongje* (village ritual) to wish for peace and a rich harvest for the new year. With the *dangsan* ritual, other customs performed on *Jeongwol Daeboreum* were aggregated and directed into a performance, which was designated as the Intangible Cultural Property No. 16 of Gyeongsangnam-do Province.

Beopeung Village is a typical farming village that features stories about the *dangsan* tree and a *shinbuk* (holy drum). From a certain point in time, the *dangsan* tree was found to be wailing, amid a number of frequent misfortunes happening in the village. A Buddhist monk passing by heard of the situation and suggested to find a mate for the *dangsan* tree to cast out any bad luck. The villagers then built a shrine where a *beopgo* (drum used at a Buddhist temple) was installed. As they started to perform the *dongje* every year, the village gradually regained its peace. At first, there was only one *dangsan* tree, however, after the people moved a tree from one place to another to match with the existing tree, two more trees had grown, making for a total of four *dangsan* trees serving as the guardians of the village.

Miryang Beopeung Sangwon Nori has three *mandangs* (chapters). The first *mandang* is a ritual. After going around the village, the people assemble in front of the *dangsan* to perform the *Dangsan Gut*. The *dangsan* ritual is followed by *Yongwangje*, a ritual for a Dragon King, at a cold spring in the mountain behind the village with food, including fruits, vegetables, croaker, dried fish, seaweed soup, and rice, prepared for the ritual. The people rub their hands

in prayer to wish peace upon the village while making their own wishes as well. After burning a piece of paper, they throw the food into a stream, cuing the women to perform a *Yongwang Gut* with a shaman. The next step is *Jisinbapgi*. A farmers' music troupe visits every household to perform a *Mun Gut* (ritual for a tutelary deity protecting a door) in front of the house. After the owner of a house welcomes them inside, the troupe bows to the table for the ritual and performs *Seongju Gut* (ritual for a tutelary deity guarding a house) before moving to the next house.

The second *madang* consists of *Heonsillang Darugi* (a custom of teasing a newly-wed groom by hanging him on a girder upside down when relatives visit), *Jangjagyut Nori* (*Yut Nori* using 50 cm-long *yuts*), *Doldaribapgi* (a custom of crossing stone bridges), and *Yeonmalligi* (Kite Flying), and *Neolttwigi* (a game taking turns to jump on a wooden board). The third *madang* is an entertaining part after the ritual, involving the welcoming of the first moon, the burning of a *daljip* (pile of pine tree branches), roasting beans, and *Pangut*. In welcoming in the first moon, the villagers surround a *daljip* in a front yard, which is created beforehand.

Then they sing a song called *Kwaejina Chingchingnane* to wish for a rich harvest with a dance, while waiting for the moon to rise. Once the moon comes up, they burn the *daljip* to burn all misfortunes together.

Those setting the fire used to be the couple married in that year to wish for the begetting of a son. The groom and the bride, dressed in traditional Korean wedding garments, fired the *daljip* with a pre-set *gyobaesang* (table for the exchange of ceremonial bows in a traditional Korean wedding). However, these days, those looking to fulfill a particular wish buy a *daljip* to burn. Also, those who had experienced hardship the previous year hang their clothes to the *dajip* and burn them. When roasting beans. Women bring irons filled with beans to roast them over the fire on the *daljip* and share them with others to drive out any bad luck while wishing for good fortune. Lastly, when the moon rises to its peak in the night sky, *Pangut Nori* begins. People then sing and dance in unison along with the melody of the farmers' music, , creating celebratory harmony, before concluding the festival of *Jeongwol Daeboreum*.

Miryang Yongho Nori

밀양 용호놀이

A game strengthening the unity of a village using ropes symbolizing a dragon and a tiger

A game consisting of a fight between ropes, one representing a tiger and the other a dragon, performed on every Jeongwol Daeboreum in Miryang, Gyeongsangnam-do Province.

The Miryang Yongho Nori is a folk game performed in Muan-ri of Miryang, Gyeongsangnam-do Province. The game traces back throughout history, only to have been discontinued during the Japanese Occupation. Later on in the early 1960s, as interest in traditional Korean culture was on the rise, local residents made attempts to restore the game. Muan Village used to be a transportation and trade hub, and since long ago, it has been a trading center for agricultural products with a high volume of people. With this geographical position, games for strengthening unity, including *Juldarigi* (tug-of-war) and Miryang Yongho Nori, were played in this region from early on. It is commonly accepted that the origin of Miryang Yongho Nori is *Juldarigi*, while Miryang Yongho Nori is a game bumping two big ropes, with each representing a tiger and a dragon, whose representations stem from the shapes of the guardian mountain of this region. The people thought that the western part of the mountain looked like a seated white tiger, while the eastern part resembled a settled blue dragon. In the beginning, the two teams battled by crashing two ropes carrying the team leaders on the heads of the ropes to determine a winner; by the leaders pushing the opponent down the rope; or a tiger figure and a dragon figure were created and mounted on the top of the rope of its team, where the leaders would then try to steal the figure of the opponent to win. However, in all cases, the game play would often become exceedingly rough, leading to frequent injury. In order to prevent this, the degree of the fight was lessened by first having a boy dressed up as a *Yeouiju* (an orb that a dragon carries in its mouth) ride on the blue dragon rope, while another boy dressed up as a *Geumyang* (a golden sheep, 金羊) mounts the white tiger rope. Teams were then fighting to simply take the flag of the opponent to reduce game intensity.

In the past, big ropes for *Juldarigi* were used for the Miryang Yongho Nori, as well, however, these days, people created giant ropes exclusively for the Miryang Yongho Nori, which have large heads. The head is standing sideways so that if the two ropes bump into each other, both of them soar up into the air. Ropes for *Juldarigi* are prepared separately and are approximately 100 m in length. One rope requires about 100 people to be carried over their shoulders. Once the ropes exit, a *nongakdae* (farmers' music troupe) and supporting villagers surround and follow the ropes with dancing.

Miryang Yongho Nori was typically played at the rice field in front of the Muan Village on *Jeongwol Daeboreum* but was not the only game to be played. In the past, on the 16th, *Juldarigi* was played and the *Pangut Nori*, performed, marking the true conclusion of *Boreum Nori*.

Mugunghwa Kochi Pieotseumnida

무궁화 꽃이 피었습니다

A game approaching, touching, and running from the player who is “it” with eyes closed

A game trying to gradually sneak up upon the player who is “it” during moments when that player’s eyes are closed, tap with the hand, and run away.

Given that the game does not appear in old literature, the history of Mugunghwa Kochi Pieotseumnida, similar to Red Light, Green Light, is not presumably long. However, it can be commonly found in the modern times as it does not require preparation except for a space to move, while also being fun and easy to play.

This is an independently-played game, however it is used as a form of tag, a warm-up game for more active games, or as a phrase used to signal something. For example, during other games, the one who becomes “it” shouts “Mugunghwa kochi Ppieotseumnida (The Mugunghwa flower has bloomed)” with an arm raised to let others know who the new “it” is before starting the new round. As

this phrase is comprised of 10 characters in Korean, shouting the phrase is the equivalent of counting from one to ten. The typical rules of game play are as follows.

First, players perform *Gawi Barwi Bo* to determine who is “it.” The player chosen stands with his or her back turned, facing a wall, a tree, or a pillar. The other players then draw a line about 5 - 10 m away and stand behind it. Afterward, the player who is “it” shouts, “Mugunghwa kochi pieotseumnida,” while having turned away from the other players.

The back must be turned while shouting the phrase. Only once all the characters, or syllables, have been shouted, can the player turn around facing the other players, and if anyone is caught moving, that player is then captured. Those that are captured must stand next to the player who is “it,” interlocking pinky fingers or holding hands. Other players then keep moving forward, a little at a time, while the game progresses and the other players start to close in. Additionally, the more players that end up captured, the longer the line. Once the player that has made it closest to the player who is “it,” the chain of captured players can be broken by hitting the fingers or hands that are joined together.

At that moment, all the other players, including those captured, must run back to their original location behind the line without being tagged. The player that is tagged by the player who is “it” becomes “it” for the next round, however, if everyone manages to make a safe return without being tagged, the current player who is “it” retains the role into the next round as well.

The player who is “it” constantly tries to look back at the right moment to spot moving players, even though no peaking is allowed. Meanwhile, the other players try to move closer without being seen. Sometimes, players are caught frozen in an awkward position at the moment the player who is “it” turns around, providing an extra level of amusement during game play.

As of recently, other variations of this game have appeared. If the player who is “it” uses a different verb or action at the end of the phrase, the other players have to act according to the verb or action that is called out or they are captured. For example, if the player who is “it” shouts, “*Mugunghwa kochi chumeul chumnida* (The Mugungwha flower is dancing),” and turns around, the other players should be dancing at that moment; or if someone says, “*Mugunghwa kochi noraehamnida* (The Mugungwha flower is singing),” and turns around, the other players should start singing on the spot. Also, after the player who is “it” shouts, “*Halmi kochi pieotseumnida* (The Grandmother flower has

bloomed),” the other players have to mimic a grandmother; or if the phrase is changed to “*Nanjangi kochi pieotseumnida* (The Dwarf flower has bloomed),” the other players must then move around in a crouched position.

These days, children rarely suggest a game to play, yet this game, in particular, is one of the few that children naturally engage in, depicting their affinity for the game. *Mugunghwa Kochi Pieotseumnida* is typically more popular among younger children than older children.

Mun Nori

문놀이

A game making a door with two people's arms while others pass through

A game making a door with two people's arms while other players pass through having formed a line.

This game is also referred to *Munjigi Nori* (Doorkeeper game), *Munttulgi Nori* (Door boring game), or *Munyeolgi Nori* (Door opening game), and is usually played when there are many people. In Jeolla-do Province, it is a part of *Ganggangsullae*.

Given that it is primarily played on a moonlit night, it seems to be an act of enjoyment rather than competition. This game can be played while being divided into two teams, or without dividing into teams with two appointed doorkeepers.

According the rules of the former, 20 - 30 people are divided into two teams and choose which team opens the door first. While the first team is creating a door in two rows, the second team passes through the door. The second team then tries to go through the door, holding the waist of the person in front with their heads lowered, and the first team lowers their arms to try and stop the second team from passing through. The second team must maintain their line until all the members have successfully passed through the gate to win.

Once the chain breaks, however, teams then switch their roles. In the latter version, the first team consists of two doorkeepers, while the second team is comprised of the rest of the players. Typically, the second team wanders around and passes through the gate at some point while the teams exchange questions and answers or sing a song. At a certain point during the song, doorkeepers lower their arms to close the door and anyone that gets caught becomes the next doorkeeper. The lyrics slightly differ from region to region.

The most famous song that is sung up to this day is called *Dongdaemun*, which is sung as follows: “Open Dong, Dong, Dongdaemun / Open Nam, Nam, Namdaemun / When it’s at twelve sharp / The Gates are closed.”

When the doorkeepers say, “The Gates are closed,” they lower their arms to catch a players passing under their arms. The game usually ends upon a player being caught, however, in some cases, the doorkeepers bring the player elsewhere and ask, “Do you want to be a spoon? Or chopsticks?” The player then chooses one of the two and stands aside. In this way, the game can actually serve as a preliminary game to divide people into two teams for the next game.

Since the rules are easy to follow, children and adults can play it together. Although the lyrics have changed over the years, *Dong, Dong, Dongdaemun* is the most known version, as it is shorter and easier to understand among children. As most players are young girls, this game primarily focuses on playing together rather than competing with one another.

Nakwa Nori

낙화놀이

A fireworks custom done at night

A type of fireworks performed during the night of *Jeongwol Daeboreum*, April 8th of the lunar calendar (Buddha’s Birthday), and the 14th day (Gimang) of the 7th lunar month.



Seonyu Julbul Nori | Andong, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province | 2015 | Son Jeong-su

Nakwa Nori can be categorized into two types: *Gwandeung* and *Gwanhwa*. The two of them, in fact, were transmitted differently as the *Gwandeung* version of Nakwa Nori was a part of the *Yeondeunghoe* tradition based on Buddhism, while the *Gwanhwa* version of Nakwa Nori was a part of the appreciation for the arts by *sajok* (scholar families) based on Confucianism. In addition, *Gwandeung* was a seasonal event, whereas *Gwanhwa* was an activity of a group of friendly *sajoks* to enjoy the arts together. In other words, *Gwandeung* assumed the participation of the whole community to promote an encompassing unity. On the other hand, *Gwanhwa* was a small-scale playful activity to meet the preference and desire for amusement of a certain group of *sajoks*.

Gwandeung was held on *Jeongwol Daeboreum*, or Buddha's Birthday, as a seasonal folk custom while *Gwanhwa* was possible to hold at any time throughout the year whenever outdoor activities were able to be performed at night, including the 14th day (*Gimang*) of the 7th lunar month. In terms of venue, *Gwandeung* was held on streets and bridges, in the woods, at the water-side, or on the water. Meanwhile, *Gwanhwa* was always held at particular venues, either at the waterside or on the water. This difference in venue was a result of pursuing particular purpose. Whereas *Gwandeung* was held according to

the regional circumstances, *Gwanhwa* took place at beautiful landscapes where people could catch a bird's eye view of Nakwa Nori.

When it comes to participants, *Gwandeung* welcomed anybody, while *Gwanhwa* was held under different circumstances. The one who ordered the preparation and appreciated Nakwa Nori was the *sajok*, including retired and incumbent officials, especially a small sub-group of *sajok* that formed a certain level of friendship together. In the meantime, the lower class received the order to prepare the event. Of course, they could enjoy the Nakwa Nori they had prepared, however, this was limited to an indirect and passive participation. The same applies to the outside spectators attending the venue. They could not participate together on a boat with the *sajok*, as they were restricted only to partial participation in *Gwanhwa*.

The most common fireworks of Nakwa Nori are *julbul* (a string of fire-crackers), of which there are several types: a string hung in the air with bags of charcoal attached called *Yuhwa*; a string with bags of charcoal attached, which were connected to poles; a kite flying in the sky whose line was connected with bags of combustible materials, which explode later on in the night; and a *yeondeung* (lotus lantern) with bags of charcoal at each of its four corners. When these types are compared with the types of Nakwa Nori, the difference between the two becomes even clearer. First of all, *Gwanhwa* exclusively uses the *Yuhwa* type of *Julbul*. On the other hand, *Gwandeung* uses various forms of *Julbul*. *Tuhwa* (flames thrown from a higher place) and *Yeonhwa* (a container with fire in it floating at the water's surface) appeared in both *Gwanhwa* and *Gwandeung*, featuring the use of different materials.

Namhae Seongu Jul Kkeutgi

남해 선구 줄 쪼이기

A tug-of-war game wishing for a rich harvest of crops and fish
and the well-being of the village

A game of tug-of-war that wishes for a good harvest of crops and fish, and the well-being of the village in the Seongu village of Nam-myeon, Namhae-gun, Gyeongsangnam-do Province.

Namhae Seongu Jul Kkeutgi is a kind of tug-of-war between two parts of the village: the northern part, which conducts a ritual to the upper Dangsang Shrine, and the southern part, which performs a ritual to the lower Dangsang Shrine. At first, children of the village collect straw from every house in the village to create *gos* (long and thick straw ropes) and ordinary ropes. There is even a custom that a house that does not voluntarily provide straw cannot complain when other villagers take straw abruptly from the rice stack of the house in the middle of the night. An awareness also exists that this is a community event where every single villager is able to participate. After a certain amount of straw is collected, the southern part and the northern part create a big *go* at the seaside and under the upper Dangsang Tree, respectively.

While making the *gos*, women allowed within the vicinity. Villagers sometimes even stand guard over the completed ropes. There have been cases where the people of one team sneak into the opponent's area and slightly cut the rope during the night to ensure their victory. Therefore, villagers protect the rope throughout the entire night to prevent it from being cut. There is also a story passed down among generations that if a pregnant woman crosses over the rope, the baby will be born with twisted fingers or toes like a straw rope; hence the reason for keeping women at a distance.

In order to form two teams, each part chooses their team leader first. A team leader is chosen from young bachelors or those with a robust physique and clean record. Each team has about 500 people, including one team leader and approximately 30 flag bearers and 20 music performers, respectively, with a farmer's background. For *Jul Kkeutgi*, participants prepare *gos*, the flags (of



Namhae Seongu Jul Kkeutgi | Namhae, Gyeongsangnam-do Province | 2004 | National Folk Museum of Korea



Namhae Seongu Jul Kkeutgi | Namhae, Gyeongsangnam-do Province | 2004 | National Folk Museum of Korea

the southern part and norther part), *pyeonjanggis* (the flags of team leaders), a *nonggi* (farmers' flag), instruments for farmers' music performance, and a table with food for the ritual, as well as a *sotdae* (a pole erected to wish for a rich harvest or protection) and a *daljip* (a pile of pine tree branches).

The game has five sequences, from the *Dangsan Ritual* to *Eobullim* (*Eoullim*), then *Pilseunggochuk*, and *Gossaum*, before concluding with *Jul Kkeutgi*, and *Burning daljip*. First of all, the northern part and the southern part carry their *go* to their respective Dangsan Shrine to hold a ritual. Here, a pre-designated *jegwan*, *jipsa*, and *chuckgwan* lead the ritual. In addition to their own wish, villagers wish for a rich harvest at the upper Dangsan while wishing for a successful catch at the lower Dangsan. The next phase, *Eobullim* (*Eoullim*), is to tour the neighboring villages to gather supporters while carrying the *go* and singing a song. The nearby villages are typically happy to join the event. The southern and northern parts, who have won supports, parade around the whole village in boast. By doing so, they dampen the opponent's spirit and tease the opponent

as part of the amusement and preparation for the upcoming battle, until the actual game begins. *Pilseunggochuk* is to recite a written ritual prayer to wish for victory. *Gossaum* is to decide *amgo* and *sutgo* by advancing *gos* for a face-to-face battle. After a jury rings a gong three times, both teams raise a battle cry and sing a song to boost morale while carrying the *gos*. During the process of pushing back on each other's *go*, they estimate and measure the power of their team. If they think their team is weaker, they sometimes invite spectators and supporters to join the team. Afterward, both teams push each other until the jury rings the gong for three times to decide the winner. The winner becomes *sutgo*, whereas the loser becomes *amgo*.

Jul kkeutgi is the phase where the actual match takes place. After the two *gos* are put together, they are fixed with a latch. The jury's ringing of the gong starts the full-scale *Jul kkeutgi*. Here, all members, male, female, young and old, hang on to the rope to pull it. Sometimes, women wrap stones with their skirts to make the rope heavier before hanging on to the rope. The victor is usually determined through a three round elimination match, and occasionally, five round elimination match. There is the accompanying belief that the win of *amgo* will bring a rich harvest and successful catch, ensure the peace of every household, and prevent all disasters within the village.

The final step is *Daljiptaengi*. Regardless of the outcome, not only the people of the northern and southern parts, but also the people from neighboring villages come together to drive out evil spirits and strengthen their harmony and friendship upon the rise of the full moon. Also, villagers conduct the *Mangwoldaedong Gut Ritual* to make a wish and burn the *daljip*. After the *daljip* is completely burned, villagers cut a string of straw and take it with them due the common myths that the strings of straw thrown to the farmland will beget a rich harvest, reward fisherman with a full catch of fish when placed on a boat, and bestow a son upon a woman that consumes the ash of burned straw.

Nat Chigi Nori

낫 치기놀이

A game throwing sickles at trees to hang or stick

A game throwing sickles at trees to hang or stick from a certain distance while cutting a tree and/or grass on a mountainside.

Nat Chigi Nori was typically enjoyed by grown children or teenagers. In the past, cutting grass and trees was part of the mundane every life of children in farming or mountain villages. Grass was fed to cows or used to make compost for farming, while trees were used as firewood. As such, cutting grass and trees was an important task in traditional societies. However, this kind of work was not done in a hasty manner and required some breaks, which was when the game was traditionally played. This game was played across the country with small differences between the different types. Typically, the one succeeding in throwing and sticking a sickle in the ground wins a bundle of firewood or grass. Under another rule, the one getting a sickle to hang on a tree, after having thrown it, is declared the winner.

Before starting the game, the players cut down a certain amount of grass, gather it into a heap, and fix a stick in the middle of it. According to the outcome of rock-paper-scissors, they decide the order of the turn and throw a sickle toward the stick. Players have to give the whole portion of grass to the winner who succeeds at getting the sickle to hang on the stick, which rarely happens. Therefore, players were ranked depending on the proximity of their sickle to the stick, which led to different opinions and, ultimately, scuffles in disagreement. The loser, whose grass is taken away, has to stay behind to cut the grass or trees, before returning home late.

There is another rule where players pile up their bundle of grass or firewood nice and high and throw their sickle from a distance of 3 - 4 m, one by one. A player who sticks the sickle to one's bundle wins. It is difficult to throw a sickle over a great distance in order to precisely stick a sickle to a stack of grass or firewood set at a higher location. The one to stick a sickle accurately takes all the bundles, resulting in some children routinely practicing throwing a sickle.



Nat chigi | Namhae, Gyeongsangnam-do Province | 2004 | National Folk Museum of Korea

The game with firewood applies different rules as it is played on a mildly-inclined slope, rather than on a flat ground. The starting point is then marked with a leaf of a tree of grass. This time, however, a sickle is not tossed, but rolled. The player able to roll a sickle the farthest wins all the bundles of firewood. A well-skilled player makes the hilt of their sickle shorter so that it can roll further.

The game eventually disappeared as people no longer cut down trees or long grass, however, it still remains a memorable game for those who spent their childhood in rural communities from the 1950s to the 1970s.

Neolttwigi

널뛰기

A game taking turns to jump on both sides of a wooden board between two people

A game taking turns jumping on two ends of a wooden board while the middle of the board is propped upward.

Neolttwigi is one of the most common and active games for young females at the beginning of January. There is no definitive record about when it began. According to theory, its origin traces back to long ago. One theory suggests that this game was created for women who could not freely go outdoors to get a glimpse of the scenery, and more importantly, men walking the streets beyond the wall. Another theory proposes that this was created for women to take turns looking at the face of their husbands who were imprisoned. This means that two women in the same situation, where their husbands were incarcerated inside a high wall, do Neolttwigi together to try to catch a view of their



Neolttwineun Moyang | Gisanpungsokdo (Replica) | National Folk Museum of Korea

husbands. Also, there is a theory arguing that people played this game to cast out evil spirits and expel any bad luck on the *Gwisinnal* (Day of Ghosts, the 16th of the first lunar month). There are also other folk beliefs that an unmarried woman that doesn't involve herself with Neolttwigi will not be able to bear a child after getting married, or that playing Neolttwigi at the beginning of January will protect the players from having a splinter for an entire year. Likewise, depending on the method of play, Neolttwigi has been transmitted along with new stories.

In order to play Neolttwigi, a long board and a prop to support are required. The board is made of wood that is highly flexible and durable. Usually, it is easier to play with a board where the middle part is thicker than the end, the proper size being 500 - 600 cm x 35 - 40 cm x 5 cm. The prop is a thick object that supports the long board from below to balance it, commonly referred to as *goigae*. A bundle of straw, or a straw bag of dirt, is typically used as a prop, which has an adequate height of about 30 cm. If a prop is too flat, the ground under both ends of the board may dig into the ground. In this regard, some people dig the ground under the ends of the board, at the very beginning, to be able to jump higher. Also, one person sits on the middle of the board to keep it from moving.

Before jumping, two persons at each end try to gain balance by adjusting their position. A heavier person will typically push the board toward the lighter person to achieve balance. If two players are similar in weight, it is appropriate for them to share an equal portion of the board. When a big weight difference occurs, however, the lighter person should take a greater portion of the board than the heavier person. Otherwise, the center of gravity, as well as the board, will naturally shift toward the heavier person, making the act of jumping nearly impossible. Shifting the board toward one player is referred to as, *bapjunda*, or giving a meal.

Once the board achieves balance, the players start to jump. When one person descends to the board after jumping, another person jumps using the rebound force. Two players repetitively exchange these roles to maintain momentum. The maximum height of the jump can be up to about 1.5 - 1.8 m from the lower end of the board.

There are various ways to jump, ranging from simply jumping to using special techniques. At first, two players go up to the board, one by one, and begin jumping slowly. As they jump while facing each other, the force of impact grows stronger, allowing them to jump higher and higher thanks to the elastic-

ity created by the continual movement. Neolttwigi is a game using the whole body to jump, along with the rebound force created from it. Since playing it for a long time requires a lot of physical strength, multiple players take turns to jump while taking a rest in between. There are several postures in Neolttwigi, including *gotchu ttwigi*, jumping with both legs stretched forward, and *gawibal ttwigi*, jumping with one leg spread forward and one backward. For those that become proficient in the game, players can compete to see who can jump the highest or the longest.

Once an opponent falls from the board, the person that remains is declared the winner. The winner then remains on the board, awaiting a new challenger. In other words, the one who is able remain on the board until the end is the overall winner. This game can be an individual competition, as well as a match between two teams. Since this game is about jumping using one's bodily force, players need to have strong legs to jump and to maintain balance, making it difficult for players to continue for a long period of time. As a result, players will switch frequently, amid the playful energetic atmosphere to see who can remain the last standing.

Ojingeo Nori

오징어놀이

A game involving offense and defense using a squid-shaped board drawn in the dirt

A game of offense and defense using a squid-shaped board drawn in the dirt.

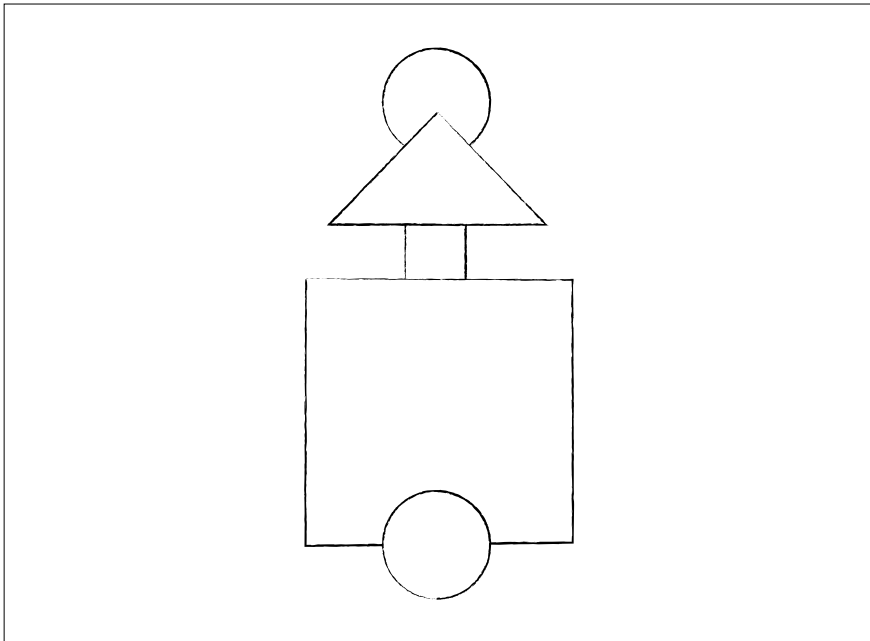
Ojingeo Nori is named after the shape of its board, which looks like a squid, with characteristic circles, triangles, and squares. The game was mainly played among young boys on a vast and flat ground. The number of players varies from eight to 10 in most cases, and up to 20 if there are more players to participate on a bigger board. The board favors the offense over the defense based on its structure. Although the shape of the board may vary, the way of drawing it is

similar, as described below, along with the method of game play.

First, players divide themselves into two teams and play *Gawi Barwi Bo* to determine the order of the offensive and defensive. The offense goes to the house at the top of the drawing while the defense goes to the body of the squid. The offense has to hop on one foot outside of their base until they cross the narrow “river” in the middle. Beyond this point, they can walk on both feet, which is not only convenient, but also provides an advantage to the offense over the defense. In this regard, the defense should strictly guard and defend the river so that no one from the offense is allowed to cross over. However, players may be out or disqualified if one of the following happens. Once a player dies, the player has to go outside the board and wait until the game is over:

- ① Stepping on a line.
- ② Standing on two feet when a player has to hop on one foot.
- ③ Touching the ground with hands after falling when a player is using two feet.
- ④ Being dragged into the opponents’ territory over a line.

The best strategy to win for the offense is to come out of their base, cross the “river” by hopping to acquire the right to walk on two feet, and go through the



A Ojingeo Nori game board

opening at the bottom to step on a point called *mansetong*. The defense can stand on two feet inside the body of the squid. However, they need to jump using one foot outside of it, unlike the offensive team. If the offense is able to get all of the members of the defense disqualified, or if at least one offender comes into contact with the *mansetong*, the offense wins and continues to attack during the next round. On the other hand, if the defense is able to get every player on the offense disqualified, the defense wins and takes the offensive position in the next round. As a new round begins, all the disqualified players are allowed to participate once again.

Omok

오목

A game placing game stones in turn to form an unbroken chain of five stones in a row on a *Baduk* board to win

A game placing black and white game stones in turn to form an unbroken chain of five stones in a row on a *Baduk* board to win.

The earliest record of Omok can be found in *Hanseu*, a Chinese history book in the 2nd century B.C. Books in the Han Dynasty (206 BC to 220 AD) refer to Omok as *Gyeogo*. However, this cannot be regarded as the true origin of Omok, as its origin is yet to be fully determined. It is assumed that Omok originated in China and spread through Korea to Japan.

Omok means placing five stones in a row; hence, the first player who is able to form a chain of five stones horizontally, vertically, or diagonally on a *Baduk* board wins. Players use black and white stones as they do with *Baduk*. A 19x19 board was commonly used for Omok in the past, prior to the selection of the current 15x15 dimensions for official events, which is now widely used. In some cases, the board and pieces of *Janggi* (a game requiring the capturing of a king on a gameboard) are used. If there is no board, or black and white stones,

players draw a board with a certain number of spaces on a piece of paper using a pencil. Then, they place their pieces by marking the intersecting point with a specific symbol. Unlike *Baduk* or *Janggi*, Omok has does involve the capturing of stones or moving pieces along a particular route, making it easy to play simply using paper and pencils.

The game proceeds in a way that two players each choose one color of stones, white or black, and compete. The less-skilled player traditionally takes the black stones, as well as the first turn, while the more-experienced player takes the white stones and goes second. As in the case with *Baduk*, players take turns to place their stones on an intersecting point. Here, once a stone is placed, the move cannot be adjusted or canceled. Also, a turn cannot be skipped. In Omok, if an attacker connects three or four stones in a row, the attacker should inform the other player by saying “Three!” or “Four!” to allow the other player a chance to defend. In Omok, there is no limit to the playtime or the number of stones placed. The victory goes to the first player placing five stones in a row horizontally, vertically, or diagonally.

Omok is relatively easier to learn and its playtime is shorter than *Baduk*, making it appropriate for game play at leisure. If an actual *Baduk* board is not available, players can easily create a board using a ruler and pencils to draw lines on a piece of blank paper to make spaces. Also, they can make moves by marking dots on the board with pencils, essentially allowing the game to be enjoyed anywhere and anytime. For that reason, people of all ages are able to play this game, and it has been played amid considerable popularity up to this day. Moreover, it has often been played as a warm-up game prior to engaging in learning the rules of *Baduk*. Since a long time ago, it has been played as a game for developing intelligence and judgment alongside *Baduk*, *Janggi*, and *Gonu*.

Paengichigi

팽이치기

A game spinning a top using a whip like top spinning

An iconic children’s winter game spinning an inverted cone-shaped wooden top using a whip on flat ground or on ice.

There is no official record of when Paengichigi began in Korea. According to the *Nikon Shoki* of Japan, published in 720 AD (the 19th year of King Seongdeok of Silla), Paengichigi was introduced to Japan from China through Silla, indicating the game’s potential popularity throughout and during the Three Kingdoms Period of Korea. Despite today’s tops being made by professional craftsmen, up until the 1970s and 1980s it was commonplace for people in rural areas to compete and enjoy Paengichigi with crude, self-made tops.

Paengi is a word describing a rotating object, originated from other mimetic words of the same meaning, *bingbing* or *pingping*. *Paengi* is a traditional



Paengidolnineun Moyang | Gisanpungsokdo (Replica) | National Folk Museum of Korea



A paengi | Deokpojin Museum of Education



A paengi | 1980s | National Folk Museum of Korea

pastime for children where the surface of a round block of wood is cut into a sharp-pointed tail. Spinning of the block is started by wrapping and unwrapping a string around it, and it continues spinning by being hit with a whip. There are several types of *paengi*, including *malpaengi*, using a top that is cut into a cone with a pointed tail; *janggupaengi*, using a top that has pointed tails on both sides; and *sangsuripaengi*, a top with a pointed rod inserted through an acorn. The whip is made by binding the bark of tree roots, which are cut into thin pieces, to a narrow crack at the end of a stick. It can also be made of durable cloth, silk thread, twine, or leather.

In general, the top is made to continue spinning through the act of whipping. The string part of a whip is wound several turns around the top's head, before pulling the whip in a single motion to spin the top on the ground. A strong whipping right after the release increases the spinning speed so that it can quickly reach its max spinning rate. *Paengichigi* is not only entertaining but adds fun to a competition, which includes *Orae Dolligi* (spinning the longest), *Meolli Chigi* (spinning the furthest), *Ppalli Doraogi* (spinning the fastest), *Budichyeo Doraogi* (spinning outward to hit a predetermined obstacle, before returning to continue spinning), and *Jjigae Dolligi* (spinning while trying to knock an opponent's top over to survive the longest).

Pansu Nori

판수놀이

A game having a blinded player catching others

A game trying to catch other players or guess the name of other children.

Pansu Nori is a folk game that has been passed down to ordinary people since the Joseon Period. The game is known by various names in different provinces, such as *Bongsa Nori*, *Bongsa Japgi*, *Jangnim Nori*, *Kkamak Japgi*, or *Sogyeong Nori*. *Pansu* was a name used for blind fortune tellers, while the game itself has many different names, not only just about being blind, but also about acting haphazardly, as a *pansu* does. Since the player who is “it” is not just blindfolded, but aims to act like a *pansu* who can guess people’s names and tell their future.

Pansu Nori was widespread across the country and played in the large yard of a house, or in an empty lot. Though the game has been traditionally passed down among girls, girls and boys played the game together, as well as young and middle-aged adults within some regions. The first step to playing the game is deciding who will be “it” through a round of *Gawi Barwi Bo*. That chosen player is then blindfolded with a handkerchief or a strip of cloth in order to be fully blinded. Pansu Nori has been played, more or less, using different variations according to region, but there is a common set of rules to follow.

- ① Once the player who is “it,” i.e. the *pansu*, is chosen, other players wander around and clap their hands to let the *pansu* know where they are. The *pansu* then moves forward to where the clapping sounds were heard while sweeping both arms from side to side in an effort to catch other players, who continue clapping and running around to avoid being caught. A player should stand still at the moment they are caught, before the other players ask the name of the player who has been caught. The *pansu* may try to guess the player’s name having touched the face, other body parts, or clothing. If the name is guessed correctly, that player becomes the next *pansu*, however, if not, game play continues.
- ② Players sit in a circle around the blindfolded player while a player goes around the circle from left to right before stepping out of it for a moment. The *pansu*

says, “I can see (player’s name),” and other players reply, “Can you really see (player’s name)?” If the *pansu* calls out the correct name of the player outside the circle, other players ask again, “Who is (same player’s name) hiding behind?” If the *pansu* guesses correctly, the other players shout, “You’re right! You’re right!” otherwise they shout, “You’re wrong! You’re wrong!” If the tagger is wrong twice in a row in guessing the name of the person, the player performing the role of the *pansu* continues, making it very difficult to be freed of the role. Once the *pansu* guesses the name of the second player correctly, the two exchange roles.

- ③ Players choose to take the role of a cat or mouse, and the cats run around trying to catch the mice. First, the players are divided into two teams following a few rounds of *Gawi Bawi Bo*. The members of the teams then take turns going in between one another as they sit in a circle.

Each team picks a player that is agile and smart enough to imitate the movements of a cat or a mouse, respectively. The game starts when the blindfolded cat runs after the mouse, who in turn, runs away from the cat and keeps clapping both hands to tease the cat. The rule of the game applies in that the mouse cannot leave the circle formed by the chain of players of the two groups. If the mouse breaks the rules or is caught by the cat, the chaser and the run-away exchange their roles. The game then continues, and the winner is the team that catches as many mice as possible. Likewise, North Koreans play a game called *Saram Chatgi* (searching for a person) where players decide to take one of two roles: a tiger or a rabbit. The tiger is then blindfolded and guesses the name of the rabbit who has teased with a poke to the back, before running away.

Pokjungnori

폭죽놀이

A fireworks custom casting out evil spirits using loud sounds

A custom casting out evil spirits using loud sounds from burning unseasoned bamboo on the eve of the Lunar New Year.

On the eve of the Lunar New Year, a fire is set in a yard, or side street, and bamboo sticks with nodes are put into the fire, making loud cracking sounds. This tradition is called *Yojuk* or *Daebulloki* (burning bamboo), and people commonly believed that the sound would startle and cast out any evil spirits settled within their homes to help welcome in a fresh New Year. The firecrackers are also called *gwisinbul* (the fire of evil spirits) or *gwisindalgumbul* (fire to burn evil spirits) due to the burning of bamboo sticks or elongated, single-row egg carton-shaped firecrackers made of mulberry charcoal powder, and the custom performed as if setting fire to evil spirits. People thought that the exploding sounds of bamboo and mulberry firecrackers would startle and drive the evil spirits out. This is a kind of shamanic ritual where the cracking sound of burning bamboo could keep evil spirits away, even extinguishing them. Prior to the invention of gunpowder, people in China connected unseasoned bamboo sticks with fuses in between and set a fire to one end of the package for each bamboo stick to explode in the air, exhibiting a colorful array of flames.

Meanwhile, since the late 13th century, people in Korea began to use gunpowder, or other explosive material, to set off firecrackers called *hwahui* or *hwasanhui*. Gunpowder or other explosive materials are pressed into a cylinder, with one end of the container wrapped with many layers of paper, and the fuse planted into the thick layers of paper is set fire to explode.

The tradition of expelling evil spirits, or demons, by making explosive sounds dates back to a shamanic belief that a good start to the first month of the new year would guarantee welfare in the remaining months of the coming year. People believed that the firecrackers could eliminate evil spirits to ensure peace and prosperity for them over the course of the next year. The shamanic act of making explosive sounds is to stamp out the mischief caused by demons,

to ensure the welfare, as well as the peace and prosperity for a community and its members, and to present a strong social safety network for a safe and secure year ahead.

Pulgaksi Nori

풀각시놀이

A game using a bridal doll made of grass

A game making and decorating bridal dolls using various types of grass during the summer.

This game was normally played during the summer, the peak season of grass growth, and would involve making dolls using tough grass. According to the records of this game that had been played, spanning the Three Kingdoms Period and Joseon Period, it was a game similar to that of *Sokkup Nori* (playing house) by modern-day girls. It typically included playing house while little girls made a grass bride, conduct a wedding ceremony, and playing out the first night between a newly-wed couple.

Pulgaksi Nori requires 15 cm long sorghum straws or peeled twigs, and the leaves of *gaksipul* (a type of rice) grown under walls, or by the edges of rice fields, as much as needed. The leaves are blanched in boiling water to be softened, then tied to the top of a twig or a sorghum straw by threads, and brushed upward to be finely combed. The leaves eventually develop a likeness to that of human hair. Girls made the hair of single women by braiding it, or putting the hair in a bun. Then they played with the dolls, while sometimes making the arms of a doll and dressing it with an upper garment and skirt. After creating a bride, girls made a groom as well. They prepared a wedding table for the dolls, made the dolls bow, facing each other, prepared a room for the dolls, and pretended to engage in a feast using pieces of chinaware filled with dirt.

Pulgaksi Nori was an iconic folk game reflecting the traditional game for

girls. In the past, during an era without any factory-made toys, girls made simple dolls by themselves using natural materials. They would compete with one another over the beauty of the dolls after decorating them with a dress and other trimmings, as well as imitate the first night of a newly-wed couple. The game helped children create simple yet fantastic ways to express their hopes and dreams that they someday wished to fulfill.

Pungdeung Nori

풍등놀이

A game heralding the start of a battle of lanterns

A game heralding the start of a battle of lanterns between groups of students from neighboring village schools on the evening of the winter solstice by flying grand sky lanterns.

The students of village schools, or *seodangs*, in Gyeongsangnam-do Province used to engage in *deungssaums* (lantern battles) on the evening of the winter solstice. A *Deungssaum* is a game between the students of neighboring village schools and is also referred to as *Chorongssam*. Students have a ritual for the lantern battle that takes place before the start of the game. In the ceremony, they signaled the start of the battle by flying sky lanterns. Meanwhile, these sky lanterns were also used to relay messages between military bases during the Japanese Invasion of Joseon. Lantern battles now take place in the *Hansandae-cheop Chukje* (Festival Commemorating the sweeping victory at Hansan) held in Tongyeong, Gyeongsangnam-do Province. The size and shape of the lanterns in the festival are a reproduction of the traditional shape.

The sky lanterns used by students of the village schools were made of bamboo and a traditional Korean paper called *hanji*. Flying lamps were built by applying the principles of hot-air balloon construction, and a paper lamp without a cap was lit up with fire so the hot air inside caused the lantern to rise up into



Pungdeung Nori | Tongyeong, Gyeongsangnam-do Province | Hansan Battle Commemorative Service Society

the air. The light of the lantern warms the air inside, while the convective flow of hot air expands the volume of the lamp, making it rise. The lantern slowly rises into the air after being released from the ground.

Sky lanterns signal the beginning of a lantern battle, which is typically staged at a predetermined site, commonly a marketplace, between the students from neighboring village schools. Each group of students marches toward the battleground with their lanterns at the forefront. There are three kinds of lanterns for each group to protect, while students carry their own small lanterns. Once two competing groups arrive at the battlefield, they prepare for an imminent battle at each base camp. The name of a group is decided depending on the route they chose upon entering the field of battle, such as “East” or “West.” When building a base camp, some members of the group surround and protect a student holding the first lantern at the center. Then other members holding the second and the third lanterns encircle the first layer of students and the remaining members build double or triple walls at the outermost layer to protect the first lantern holder. With both sides ready, the referee signals the start of the battle by knocking rice paddles against each other three times. Students

from the two groups shout at their opponents and move toward each other to put out the first lantern at the center of the opposing team by wielding a two-to three-foot-long stick. The winner is the team that succeeds in snuffing out the opponent's lantern first. In short, sky lanterns are a prelude to the lantern battle, defining it as a preliminary ritual prior to the main event of the game. The releasing of the sky lanterns is the starting signal to the lantern battle, as the students take steps toward the battleground, where the battle ensues and typically ends within a matter of seconds.

Sabangchigi

사방치기

A game occupying the opponent's territory within a game board drawn in the dirt

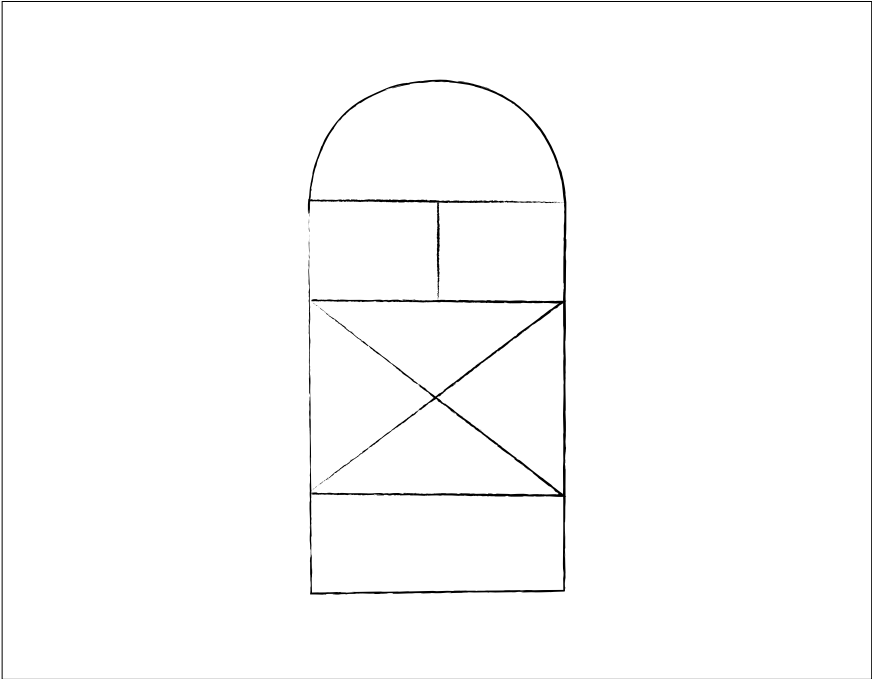
A game drawing a game board on a flat surface, throwing stones upon it, before the players go around from the first cell to the last cell and back again.

Sabangchigi is also known as *Ttangttameokgi*, or *Mang Jupgi*. This is one of the few traditional games still being played by today's children. There are two common types of game boards for *Mang Jupgi*. They are called *Bibaenggi Mang Jupgi* and *8 Bang Mang Jupgi*. *Bibaenggi Mang Jupgi* is a standard game board used in other countries, while *8 Bang Mang Jupgi* is used solely in Korea, however, the ways to play the game on both types of boards are nearly the same. The rules for *8 Bang Mang Jupgi* are as follows.

During game play, if there is a turn to play 1 *dan* (the first run that starts from the first cell), the player throws a *mang* (a game piece) into the first cell. If the *mang* lands in other cells, or on a border line between cells, the throwing is considered a fail and the next player is up. Upon the *mang* landing in the first cell, the thrower moves to the second cell and then the rest of the cells on one foot and/or both feet. Players stand on one foot in the second and third cells, on both feet in the fourth and fifth cells, on one foot in the sixth cell, and

on both feet again in the seventh and eighth cells. After reaching the last cell, players then turn around and move backward on the same foot or feet in each cell. If a player was able to pick up the *mang* in the first cell while standing in the second cell, then returned to the first cell, the run is successful. If a player touches a line of the board with a hand or foot, the run is considered a failure. The game proceeds from 1 *dan* to 8 *dan*, under the same rule. If a player fails at 3 *dan*, the player can then restart from 3 *dan* in the next turn. A player who successfully proceeded to 8 *dan* goes to the sky cell, comes back, and throws a *mang* into the game board while turning back from the board. If the *mang* lands within a cell without touching a line, the cell becomes a territory of the thrower. The owner of a cell can rest within it on both feet from the next turn, with other players being forced to jump over the cell. Players can take the cells whenever they succeed in moving from 1 *dan* to the sky cell, and the game ends once every cell has been occupied.

Recently, a new rule, called the elevator, has been added to the game. The rule is applied once throwing a *mang* into cells grows more difficult upon the progression of the game toward the high *dans* and only a few cells are left to take. The new rule allows the throwing in of a *mang* at an additional line by



Sabangchigi game board

the game board (normally next to the fourth and fifth cells). For example, if landing a *mang* within the right cells gets difficult at 5 *dan* or higher, amid the failure of other players, the new rule can be applied for those stages. If the game is played by children of different ages, the rule can be applied to younger children only. The elevator rule was invented after the dissemination of elevators. It is a good example of the evolution of folk games along with the changing of the times.

Saja Nori

사자놀이

A custom wearing lion masks

A series of performances where performers wear lion masks.

Among the mask performances of Korea passed down to the modern day, *Bukcheong Saja Nori*, Bongsan Mask Dance, Gangryeong Mask Dance, Eunyul Mask Dance, *Suyeong Yaryu*, *Tongyeong Ogwangdae*, and *Hahoe Byeolsingut Tal-nori*, features the quality of a *Sajachum* (lion dance). The lion dances in the performances are mostly performed for *Byeoksajingyeong* (keeping away evil spirits and wishing for a good fortune).

In particular, *Bukcheong Saja Nori* has many theatrical aspects and a similarity to *narye* (a seasonal rite to fight off evil spirits). *Sajanoripae* (a performing group of Saja Nori) visits each household of a village from the 4th to 14th day of the first lunar month, and performs a rite similar to the exorcism rite of *narye*, i.e. *jisimbapgi* (treading the earth god). The *Bukcheong Saja Nori* is performed for *Byeoksajingyeong*, like the many other Korean folk games played during the *Jeongwol Daeboreum* (the first full moon of the lunar calendar). The very presence of lions, the king of all beasts, is believed to have the inherent power to scare off evil spirits. Furthermore, the details of the lions wearing bells on their necks and visiting each house to ward off the evil spirits is exactly identical to



Saja and Yangban characters of Bukcheong Saja Nori | Japanese Occupation | National Folk Museum of Korea

narye, another traditional exorcism rite performed by masked performers.

Act five of *Bukcheong Saja Nori* is an act of *Sajachum*, performed by a *meokjung* (a depraved monk), working as a horseman, and a lion. The horseman recognizes the lion, and finds out it is a mount of Manjushri. He asks the lion for the reason of its descending onto earth, then the lion attacks him. He then repents his wrongdoings of the past and promises to cultivate his spirit to be a good monk. Finally, the two characters dance around to *taryeong* (Korean folk songs) and *gutgeori* (a pattern of Korean folk music), then leave the stage.

The main purpose of Saja Nori is *Byeoksajingyeong*. The reason behind having a grand Saja Nori on *Jeongwol Daeboreum* is believed to be to fight off evil spirits and wish for the peace and happiness of the village by wearing the masks of *saja* (lion), the king of all beasts representing the power of *byeoksa* (exorcism), indicating the religious aspect of Saja Nori. Also, promoting unity and cooperation among villagers is another major role of the play. Every villager comes together by preparing a Saja Nori for the village, performing the play in each household, and using the grain donated by wealthy families during the play for public projects. Lastly, Saja Nori acts as a form of entertainment to

relieve the stress of daily life and restore vitality, while starting off the new year by enjoying songs and dances on night of the important annual event.

Samcheok Gijuldarigi

삼척 기줄다리기

A game pulling a rope to decide a winner

A game resembling that of tug-of-war played on *Jeongwol Daeboreum* in Samcheok of Gangwon-do Province, featuring the shamanic trait of wishing for the mutual happiness of communities.

The *gijul* of Samcheok Gijuldarigi refers to a *gejul* (a crab-shaped rope), originating from the small ropes connected to a large main rope that resembles the legs of a crab. *Gijuldarigi* means a tug-of-war using a crab-shaped rope. The game is called *Samcheok Gejuldarigi*, which means a tug-of-war using a crab-shaped rope), or *Samcheok Gejulssaum* (a crab-shaped rope battle). Samcheok Gijuldarigi started in 1662, the year when Heo Mok, then *busa* (a head administrator) of Samcheok, started to build a river bank and a reservoir, as a way to make the many ropes needed to make the spading for the construction easier while encouraging every villager of each village to participate in the projects. The game is played between two *myeons* (a type of administrative districts encompassing many small villages), Bunae-myeon, by the sea, and Malgok-myeon, in the mountainside. It is believed that the winning village could enjoy a rich harvest for the year. In reality, however, the losing village had to undertake difficult tasks, including the repairs of the Samcheok-eup Wall, or the bank of the Osip River, hence competitive energy that arose every year.

On or about every 10th day of the first lunar month, villagers from Malgok and Bunae select two *chongdaepyo paejang* (or *chongpaejang*, the commander in chief) represent both *myeons*. The *chongpaejangs* are well-respected people with moral influence, wealth, and presence as a leader. A *chongpaejang* makes head-



Sulbi Nori



Gijuldarigi

Samcheok Gijuldarigi | Samcheok, Gangwon-do Province | 2015 | National Folk Museum of Korea



Junggijuldarigi



Daegijuldarigi

Samcheok Gijuldarigi | Samcheok, Gangwon-do Province | 2015 | National Folk Museum of Korea

quarters to plan and organize the event, and select a *bupaejang* (vice commander) and about four to five *paejangs* (managers from each group). Once the managers are selected, the *chongpaejangs* give orders through them to the groups they belong to. The *chongpaejangs* order each village to make *gijul* with *sulbitong* (a ropemaking machine) and report to the headquarters on the morning of the 15th. After receiving the order, each village gathers straw from households and makes *gijul* using *sulbitong* under the leadership of village heads. In general, the *gijuls* are 40 to 50 cm in diameter, and 80 to 100 cm in length. On the morning of the 15th, villagers from each village gather at the headquarters, located in the Sadae Square of Samcheok-eup, carrying *gijuls* on their shoulders. During the march, *paejangs* of each village ride on the *madu* (the head of the *gijul*).

Paejangs and the representatives of Malgok and Bunae welcome the arrival of the groups in their respective teams to the headquarters at Sadae Square by the Osip River in Samcheok-eup. The groups from each village march to the sound of *gilgunak* (a type of Korean folk music played for road marches) played by village folk bands. The villagers of the village, having the seat of Samcheok-eup office, prepare food in advance and treat the arriving groups carrying *gijuls*. *Chongpaejangs* riding in on a horse, along with *bupaejangs* and the rest of *paejangs* in ritual clothing, gather the *gijuls* arriving from each village. The groups carrying *gijuls* join their team upon arrival, and then march around to the joyful sound of village folk music.

The arrivals of straw and the ropes from the villages have a festive aspect. While everyone is enjoying the moment together, skilled specialists lead the *gijul* making of both the Bunae and Malgok teams at their workshops at the headquarters. The specialists are makers of spading ropes, boat ropes, nets, or straw thatch, that received training from other *gejul* makers. It takes six to seven hours to complete the making of the male and female ropes representing both *myeons*, from *madu* to *jinejul* (side ropes). Finally, the completed male and female ropes of Bunae and Malgok are connected as one past midnight, by fixating the round heads of both ropes with a long log, taking 30 to 60 minutes. During the process, both teams exchange obscene jokes, harsh words, and mock each other for fun. The main tug-of-war event takes place around 1 am. The spectacle of the Samcheok Gijuldarigi under the full moon with the torchlights and lanterns is magnificent to watch.

The *chongpaejangs* of Bunae and Malgok lead the battle on the heads of both *gijuls*, while the leaders have to use various plans to win. Mostly, the plans are delivered by signals, such as the flag signals directing thousands of people in

unison. In general, *chongpaejang*s give orders to *paejang*s through *bupaejang*s on their back. The orders are delivered to the rest of the villagers through *paejang*s standing by the middle of the *gijul*. Orders are communicated through various flag signals, drum and *jing* (gong) sounds, the spraying of alcohol, pressing down with stones, and torch signals. The process of giving and receiving orders itself is a mass entertainment to express unity.

The restoration of *sulbitong* was the key for the preservation of Samcheok Gijuldarigi. *Sulbitong* is a looming machine for making the large *gijuls*, a tool for weaving straw ropes. According to the most informers in the Samcheok region, the name of the machine is believed to originate from the site of ropes coming out of the male rope hole of the machine. In other words, the name *sulbitong* was a mimetic word of the *gijuls* coming out of the hole “smoothly” (*sul sul*, or *seul seul* in Korean mimetic words).

The *gijul* making process is typically referred to as a time of doing *sulbi*, and the makers sing the *sulbitong* song in the process. One person sings the leading chants of the song, and then other makers and spectators return in chorus chanting, “*Eheya sulbiya*.” Each verse of the song describes the scenes of *gijuldarigi*. When *sulbi* (a rope making) is complete, the participants circle around the place, carrying the ropes on their shoulders chanting, “*Eohwa, eohwa*,” to perform a kind of *jsinbapgi* (treading the earth god). The march is a kind of *gil nori* (a ritual performed on the road). *Eohwa* is the chorus of songs or chanting, expressing gratitude to and the glory of the king or gods. Following the *sulbitong* rituals, each village stores its *gijul* at a sacred ground of the village or near its *seonangdang* (a shrine for the village guardian deity) until villagers depart to the site where *Gijuldarigi* is held.

The participants from each village gather at the Sadae Square by the Osip River, where headquarters are located, carrying the ropes on their shoulders. Village folk bands lead the marches, and the villagers carry the ropes as the rest of the villagers follow. This magnificent and noisy scene brings about a festive and entertaining atmosphere, attracting everyone to participate. At the main event site, the ropemakers from Malgok gather on the side to make the male rope, and the ropemakers from Bunae gather on the side to make the female rope. The male and female *gijuls*, to be connected as one, are made on site using the ropes from every village.

Sanyang Nori

사냥놀이

A game practicing hunting prior to an actual hunt

A ritualistic custom imitating the hunting process.

Sanyang Nori is a custom related to hunting, also known as *Sanyang Geori* or *Sanyang Gut*. It is believed that the custom originated from the practice of hunting skills prior to an actual hunt, or from the custom of offering hunted animals to spirits after a hunt.

There are two types of Sanyang Nori that have been passed down to the present day. The first type of ritual is conducted as an additional process to the *gut* (a shamanic ritual), and the second type is conducted as a part of village rituals.

The first type of Sanyang Nori is divided into two types, once more, with one being a ritual reflecting hunting, a part of people's livelihood, to wish for the prosperity and well-being of villages, and the other being a ritual held in villages attacked by tigers to wish for protection and comfort the souls of victims. Both types of rituals are jointly held by a *mudang* (a shaman) and the villagers. In Hwanghae-do Province, Sanyang Nori, including *Sanyang Geori* and *Sanyang Gut*, is held as an additional session of various *gut* rituals that are conducted on a large scale, including *Daedong Gut* (a village ritual), *Mansudae-tak Gut*, *Cheolmuri Gut*, and *Kkonmaji Gut*, each defined with playful characteristics.

Hwangbyeongsan (Pyeongchang) Sanyang Nori (intangible cultural asset No 19 of Gangwon-do Province) is related to the village rituals, and has been passed down in the areas around Hwangbyeongsan Mountain in Pyeongchang-gun. The area is located in the rugged Taebaek Mountain Range, which is part of the Baekdudaegan Mountain Range. The origin of Hwangbyeongsan (Pyeongchang) Sanyang Nori is believed to be the regional boar hunts conducted as an offering at *Seonangje*, a sacred village ritual. Another theory of its origin is a type of institutional meat tribute to the government during the Joseon Period. In the past, *Napyangje* was held in the palace, using boars as offerings.



Sanyang Nori | Deokheung-ri Tomb Wall Painting

However, King Jeongjo of the Joseon Period ordered villagers to use pheasant meat for the offering, instead of boar or deer meat, in order to reduce the burden of his people. The King's order enabled further promotion of Hwangbyeongsan (Pyeongchang) Sanyang Nori as the government officially allowed hunting in the area.

The Sanyang Nori is a custom related to hunting with a long history, not only in Korea, but also in Siberia, India, and Japan, indicating its universality as a custom. The Sanyang Nori is a ritualistic custom imitating the hunting process to invoke the spirits' blessing for the prevention of unforeseen accidents and incidents, while also ensuring a successful hunt. Also, the mimetic hunting has the characteristics of a type of theater, or a form of composite art.

Sedo Durepungjang

세도 두레풍장

A pungmul nori for weeding

A Korean folk music custom celebrated during the labors of weeding in Dongsa-ri of Sedo-myeon, Buyeo-gun, Chungcheongnam-do Province.

Sedo Durepungjang is a variation of *pungmulgut* (farmer's music) with a long history, dating back to the late Joseon Period, since the foundation of the *dure* (farmer's cooperative group) system. The custom of joint farming though *dure* in the Sedo region almost faded away around the time of liberation from the Japanese Occupation in 1945. In Dongsa-ri, however, the custom still remained, and the residents weeded of rice fields under the *dure* system until the early 1960s.

Upon the end of the *dure* custom, Sedo Durepungjang was gradually fading away as well. However, some residents in the region regretted the failure to preserve old farmer's music and musicians, and eventually restored folk music in 1986. The Sedo Durepungjang was designated as Intangible Cultural Property No. 28 of Chungcheongnam-do Province in January 2000.

The basic melodies of Sedo Durepungjang are comprised as follows: *Nonpungjang* (*semachigarak*) was played among rice fields while weeding; *Dureongjilgut* (*jilgut*) was played during marches of *durepae* or relocating to the next rice field; and *Dumachigarak*, *Nabichumgarak*, and *Chilchaegarak* were played for events, including *Duremeogi* on July 7th of the lunar calendar or *Madangbalgi* (*Jisinbalgi*, offering sacrifices to the earth god) at the beginning of the Lunar New Year. In addition, *Insagarak* and *Maejojigarak*, played in the beginning and end, are known for their characteristic melodies of Sedo Durepungjang.

As the players of Sedo Durepungjang are standing absolutely still, the folk music is also referred to as *Malttuk Pungjang* (stake music). The playing style is the by-product of the unique characteristic of the Dongsa-ri *dure*, which was not formed annually. The residents would form a *dure* only during the monsoon season following the long summer heat, which prevented the weeding of rice fields. In years with enough water, the residents weeded through the help of

pumasi (a system of exchanging workforce), or *nops* (paid workers). The farmers formed *dure* only when requiring intensive work due to the heavy rainfall after a drought. As a result, in years when a *dure* was formed, every household with available workers participated in the weeding. In the past, since there were more than 100 households per village, the *dure* were formed on a large scale with more than 200 workers. Assigning direction to everyone simply through voicing it was nearly impossible, leading to the creation of the Durepungjang to solve that issue. When a *jwasang*, or *gongwon*, gives orders regarding the directions and movement during weeding, a *chonggakdaebang* gives a signal with a flag. The folk band then plays music accordingly, including *nonpungjang* and *dureongjilgut*, to deliver the orders to *dure* members. The Sedo Durepungjang was ultimately created as a part of the long-time, weeding custom of Dongsari, the foundation for the creation and transmission of the Durepungjang of the region.

Seocheon Jeosanpareum Gilssam Nori

서천 저산팔음 길쌈놀이

A festive custom imitating the process of *mosi* making

A festive custom imitating the process of *mosi* making, centered around the residents of Seocheon, Chungcheongnam-do Province, the heart of fine ramie fabric production since the Joseon dynasty, and joined by residents from eight different towns in the area.

The Seocheon Jeosanpareum Gilssam Nori is an event created to promote the excellence of *mosi* (ramie fabric). Although the custom was contrived for the local industry, it has its own meaning and value as well, given that the way of life characteristic to the Hansan region is faithfully depicted. The custom has been passed down as part of an annual local festival during the sixth month of the lunar calendar, and it was designated as Intangible Cultural Property No.

13 of Chungcheongnam-do Province in 1991.

The Seocheon Jeosanpareum Gilssam Nori consists of eight stages, including *Mosi Bekkigi* (ramie trimming), *Mosi Samgi*, *Mosi Kkuri Gamgi*, *Mosi Nalgi*, *Mosi Maegi*, *Mosi Jjagi*, *Mosi Gambyeol*, and Hansan *Mosi Yechan*. Besides *Mosi Gambyeol*, and Hansan *Mosi Yechan*, the rest of the stages imitate the process of *mosi* making.

The first stage is the *taemosi* (inner bark of *mosi*) trimming, the first process of *mosi* making. People from eight *eups* (towns) gather around and peel the outer bark of the ramie. The performers are women in black skirts and white upper garments, wearing white towels around their heads. They squat on the ground and peel off the outer bark, and a farmer's band plays farmer's music at the center of the event site. Since they use their teeth to split the long stems of *mosi*, their front teeth are worn down, and their lips and palms often bleed out.

Mosi Samgi (short-thread making) is a process to tear out *taemosi*. The dried ramie is soaked in water before the tearing. People put one *taemosi* string at a time in their mouth, and tear it out using the feeling on their tongues and teeth. Since they use their teeth only to split the long stems of *mosi*, their front teeth are worn down, and their lips and palms often bleed during the process.

Mosi Kkuri Gamgi (reeling) is a process to connect the short threads and reel them onto a spindle. The workers stand two long bamboo poles on the ground, hang a *mosigut* (a bundle of *mosi*) between them, pull out a short *mosi* thread and hold it by the left hand, then pull another one out and connect it to the thread in the left hand. They pull up their skirt and put the two threads on their knees and rub them with their hands to connect them. The connected strings are then stored as a bundle, placed carefully to avoid tangling. A black cloth is spread on the ground to easily spot the *mosi* strings.

Mosi Nalgi (long-thread making) is a process to connect short threads to make long threads using the tools, *joseuldae* and *nalteul*. In the past, workers placed *mosiguts* on a black cloth, and spread rice bran on them in order to prevent the strings from getting tangled.

Mosi Maegi (the toughing of threads) is a process to toughen *mosi* threads. First, they make a paste by putting bean paste and salt in water. Salt makes *mosi* stay wet, while bean paste makes it greasy. After the application of the paste, the *mosi* toughens. In order to apply the paste, long threads that have gone through *Mosi Nalgi* are prepared. These are placed in a properly-sized *badi* (a tool to fix threads on a loom), then one side is tied to a *dotumari* (a reel) and the rest of it is wound on a *kkeulgae* (a reeling tool). The thread is fixed at

an adequate length and stretched tight. Paste is applied to the thread using a brush to smooth out the connected spots and prevent lint. It is dried with a rice hull fire slowly, then rolled on the *dotumari* to prepare the thread for the *mosi* making.

Mosi Jjagi (weaving) is a process of making the threads, prepared by *dotumari* after *Mosi Nalgi*, into *mosi* cloth using looms. One worker weaves *mosi*, and the remaining workers dance around her in a circle. The eight teams weave *mosi* in the same manner altogether.

After *Mosi Jjagi*, the *Mosi Gambyeol* (inspection) is conducted, which is a process of imitating a part of *mosi* trading in the market. Eight teams from eight towns in the Jeosan region get their *mosi* inspected by a broker who tries to find flaws like a real *mosi* trader. The inspector begins the inspection by shouting, "Let's take a look at these beautifully made *mosi*," before saying, "Bo-ryeong *Mosi* is too short. Nampo *Mosi* is too narrow. ... Today's winner is this finely-weaved Hansan *Mosi*!" This phrase is made to promote the Hansan *Mosi* by emphasizing its fine craftsmanship.

The last stage is Hansan *Mosi Yechan* (the praising of Hansan *Mosi*). After the declaration of the supremacy of the Hansan *Mosi*, participants from the eight towns march in the center of the event site, waving flags. A sedan chair is placed at the center, and the leader of the Hansan-gun team stands on it, wrapping *mosi* cloth around her body. A group of men raise the sedan chair over their shoulders carrying the woman by wrapping *mosi* cloth around her body, then everyone sings *jeosanpareup mosiyechanga* (a song praising the *mosi* of the eight towns in Jeosan). The crowd surrounding the sedan chair keeps walking around it in a circle, holding *mosi* in their hands. The performance continues at length to *jeosanpareup mosiyechanga* until the end of the song.

This festival is created by residents and inspired by traditional *mosi* making, which was rapidly fading out due to the penetration of chemical-fiber fabric. The hard labor of female farmers, expressed in this festival, both through the imitation of the *mosi* making in public and related performances, would naturally lead to everyone celebrating with one another. This is a festival reflecting the lives of residents inspired by such a tradition.

Seokcheon Nonggi Godumari Nori

석천 농기 고두마리놀이

A game fighting with farming tools to decide a winner

A game pitting villages in Seokcheon-myeon of Bupyeong-gun, Gyeonggi-do Province, against each other with a farmer's flag to decide a winner.

The word *godu* means to bow down one's head, signifying the villagers of a losing village bowing down to the flag of the *sangjwa* (chief) village after a *nonggi* (farmer's flag) battle. Since *mari* means head, the word *godumari* is considered a repetition of the same word. In fact, *godu* is another term referring to *gisebae* (bowing with village flags).

Seokcheon Nonggi Godumari Nori is a game played by *durepaes* ("farmers of a farmers cooperative group)" in the regions where *dures* were formed. The *dure* that takes a *kkwongjangmok* (a decoration made of bird feathers) from the top of the opposing team's flag wins the battle. The winning village becomes *sangjwa*, and the losing village does *gisebae* by bowing down its *nonggi*, and treating the *sangjwa* village as its "older brother" from that point onward. This custom, however, was discontinued during the Japanese Occupation, and recreated in the 1980s based on the oral tradition of the elders from the region. Currently, the Bucheon Culture Center is in charge of its management and preservation.

Seokcheon Nonggi Godumari Nori was mostly played during weeding seasons and on *Baekjung* and is carried out as described below.

Waving their *nonggi*, two village folk bands march and dance alongside rice fields toward a wide vacant lot or yard. After the bands joined the farmers from each village, prepared for the weeding, holding *homi* in their hands, everyone sings a song in hopes for a rich harvest. *Sangsoe* (folk band leaders) sing *seonsori* (the first part of a song), while the others sing *dwitsori* (choruses). Next, the farmers enter the rice field shouting, "Hooray!" and commence the weeding. The farmers get out of the field shouting, "Hooray!" once more, after completing the weeding process. They wash their *homi* by a nearby creek and hang them on the *homigeori* (a holder) of each village and have a small feast. Finally,

the losing village of last year's *nonggi* battle prepare a rite table in front of the rice field and performs a rite for a rich harvest.

A Godumari Battle is fought as a suggestion of the *sangjiwa* village. The *nonggi* of the losing village of last year's battle pay respect to the *nonggi* of *sangjiwa* village in a form of *gisebae*. The main battle then begins after bowing to the flag. Half of the force protects their flag, and the other half rush to the flag of the opponent village to take it down. The village who takes off the *git-teolbong* (*godumari*, a decoration made of bird feathers) of the opposing team's *nonggi* first wins the battle. The losing village provides tables of food while paying respect to the *sangsoe* of the winning village by filling their cups with drink. The *sangsoe* then return the *godumari* they took to the *sangsoe* of the losing village as a peace offering. As a conclusion to the battle, the losing village waves its *nonggi* to the left and right, once in each direction, then takes a bow with the flag, followed by the winning village pays respect by bowing their flag slightly. Finally, the farmers and folk bands of both villages come together and enjoy themselves as the final stage of the event.

Seokcheon Nonggi Godumari Nori is a battle between villages led by the folk bands of the *dure* using a *nonggi*. However, the main purpose of the battle is to have a grand festival after the last weeding, the final farming task for the year prior to the harvest, consisting of *Homissisi* (an event representing the end of annual farming process), wishing for a rich harvest, and relieving the fatigue from the labors of farming.

Seokjeon

석전

A game throwing rocks toward each other's area to decide a winner

A game, primarily played around *Jeongwol Daeboreum*, dividing players into two teams by a creek or a wide street to throw rocks toward each other's area to decide a winner.

Seokjeon was mostly played around *Jeongwol Daeboreum* (the first full moon of the lunar calendar), but was also played on *Dano* (the festival on May 5th of the lunar year) or *Chuseok* (the harvest festival) as well in some regions. The game was passed down among two different tiers; one played by the *Goeul* (traditional administrative districts), and the other played by the villages.



Seokjeon | Lee Seo-ji | National Folk Museum of Korea

There were two forms of the village version of Seokjeon. One was a naturally formed battle only played by children, and the other was a planned battle played by children at first, and later, by adults. The former was a secondary stage of battle played after the *Jwibul Nori* (Mouse Fire Game) or *Hwaetbul Ssaum* (Torch Battle) among children. The latter was a planned, yet independently and routinely held battle. *Julpalmae* was one of the factors distinguishing the two types of battles. If the players used *Julpalmae*, a tool for throwing stones, it meant that the battle was a planned and routinely held one.

The *Goeul* version shared similarities with the village version and was also played by teams according to the residential districts. The results of the battles used to tell the fortune for the year, while the age group of players gradually increased from children to adults over time. Although Seokjeon was banned by the authorities following the early Joseon Period due to being dangerous, the ban was ignored by most people as it was an important seasonal event handed down over the generations.

Since stone throwing was a combat skill in the pre-modern era, the game had militaristic, shamanic, religious, and recreational traits as well. However, the militaristic aspect of Seokjeon weakened as time progressed, and the game became a seasonal event for enjoyment and yearly fortune-telling.

Seonangdaessaum

서낭대싸움

A folk game hitting long poles against each other, representing gods of each village

A folk game hitting long poles, called *seonangdae*, representing village deities, against each other to knock down or break the opponent's poles to decide a winning village.

There is no historical record about the origin of Seonangdaessaum, leaving any conjecturing to be based upon the origin of *Seonangdae*. *Seonangdae* is



Seonangdaessaum | National Folk Museum of Korea

a flag, maintaining the function of a *sindae* (a pole of a god), and is used for shamanic rituals nationwide and for village *Dongje* (rituals for village deities) in Gyeongsang-do Province and some regions of Gangwon-do Province. The Seonangdaessaum takes place spontaneously during *Dongje* or *jisinbapgi* (offering sacrifices to the earth god), only in the area used for a *sindae* during the village *Dongje*. *Seonangdae* are considered the portable bodies of gods, made from a long stick with pheasant feathers and bells that can transport village deities.

A *seonang* (a guardian deity for a village) is also called a *cheonwang*, *cheonhwang*, or *cheonang* in some regions, resulting in alternative names for this game, including *Cheonwangaessaum* or *Cheonanggissaum*. Pheasant feathers at the end of the long pole of a *seonangdae* representing the face of a village deity, and iron bells and clothing, or cloth, are decorated below the face. If the clothing or cloth looks like a flag, the stick is called *seonanggi*; otherwise, the stick is called *seonangdae*. However, the battle is usually called *Seonangdaessaum*, regardless of the shapes of the cloth, as the flagpole becomes a mere pole during a battle, after wrapping the flag around the flagpole for the battle.

Seonangdae is a portable *seonangdang* (shrine for village guardian deity). A

group of people holding a *seonangdae* visit each household with a village folk band from the last month of the lunar year to the first month of the next lunar year to deliver the miracles and divine power of the *Seonangsin* (a village guardian deity). The group holds *Jisinbapgi* and *Dongje* under the authority of the *seonangdae*. *Seonangdaessaum* takes place spontaneously when the group meets another group from a neighboring village holding a *seonangdae* representing another village deity, when many groups from different villages gather around at the same place, or when the levels of authority between village deities are unclear. *Seonangdaessaum* is not considered to be a separate ritual, but rather part of the ritual process for the new year.

As mentioned above, *Seonangdaessaum* primarily arises from conflicts over the rankings of village deities, while in some cases, intense battles are fought between the village deities of similar ranks. On the other hand, sometimes battles are replaced with marriages between the village deities. If the ranks among village deities are clear, however, a battle still could be fought, but the winning village is already decided to the village having the higher-ranking deity.

Yeongsan-myeon of Changnyeong-gun in Gyeongsangnam-do Province is the region well-known for key Intangible Cultural Properties, including *Yeongsan Juldarigi* and *Yeongsan Soemeoridaegi*. For the *Seonangdaessaum* in Yeongsan-myeon, the battles are fought between five villages for about a month from December 15th to January 15th of the lunar calendar. During this period, the villagers regularly pray for *seonangdae*, not only during *Dongje*, but also during *Jisinbapgi*. Some people hang lucky bags with five grains on *seonangdae*, while a *seonangdae* is stored by the village *seonangdang*. Members of the village folk band remove the *seonangdae* and visit each household during the period to hold *Dongje* and *Jisinbapgi*. If the folk band happens upon a group from another village carrying another *seonangdae*, both groups declare that “Our *Seonangnim* (village guardian deity) is more powerful! Bow down to our *Seonangnim* (*Seonangdae*),” and a battle begins between them.

Seori

서리

A children's game stealing crops or fruits when there was not enough food

The stealing of grain, fruit, and poultry for fun among children to satiate their hunger when there was food shortage during the agricultural off-seasons.

There were various stealing practices committed in farming villages prior to the 1960s, primarily among children in their early teens. Since younger children had difficulty in searching and choosing what they would steal and did not know how to cook the stolen food well, they had to rely on the food given by their older peers. As children reached their early teens, they would feed cows or fell trees in groups. Children would release the cows and let them freely feed themselves in the appropriate places, which required only one or two children to keep watch on the cows. In contrast, the rest of the children could play various games. Whenever they felt hungry, those children would steal a healthy amount of crops, fruits, or vegetables, and enjoy them together. As children grew older, they became bolder, and naturally, children in their late teens would be inclined to steal poultry rather than crops. Therefore, depending on the amount of poultry being stolen, one could easily assume the age of the children in a town.

The easiest target was grain. Grain fields were rarely kept on watch, enticing children to easily steal crops at their leisure. When partaking in Seori, some of the children would head to the field, while the rest prepared to cook and enjoy whatever was brought back. The amount of the stolen food was usually enough to share a handful of grain per person. Usually, two weeks prior to harvesting the wheat, barley, and beans was the height of the Seori tradition, since unripe crops were very tasty when slightly singed by fire. The most popular crops for stealing were barley and wheat, as the harvest for wheat would overlap with the season of spring hunger, the hungriest time of year, leading to children stealing crops to appease their hunger. The most popular target during the autumn, however, was beans. Food was relatively abundant compared to the spring, while autumn was the time when the harvest was nearly over.



Seori | Lee Seo-ji | National Folk Museum of Korea

Children were more careful when they stole vegetables and fruit due to the higher value in comparison to grain. Only the most agile and clever of children would do the stealing, while the younger and clumsier sat by and watched. Among the vegetables, potatoes were the most popular, whether they were ripe or bitterly unripe. Cucumbers and oriental melons, or Korean melons, usually raised in gardens, were stolen as well.

Stealing poultry, however, was the most daunting challenge, since their coops were placed indoors, not to mention the fact that they were difficult to catch, making it hard to go unnoticed by the owner. Children could steal poultry at any time, but primarily would do so during the agricultural off-season, particularly in the winter, when people rarely engage in outside activities. Those who did the stealing were children in or above their late teens, and whenever they felt hungry after hanging out and being on the job, they would then go and steal poultry. Just as with stealing chickens, children often stole side dishes on winter nights. *Kimjang kimchi* (kimchi made to eat throughout winter), and

radishes, buried underground, were popular targets among children in their mid-teenage to young adult years.

As food shortage was solved thanks to the distribution of Tongil rice (a variety of rice developed in Korea) and the widespread use of machines and chemicals in agriculture during the early 1970s, this custom of Seori, among children gradually began to disappear. Of course, the stealing of fruit and poultry had been around for a while, but it was mostly for entertainment.

As a form of stealing that was culturally accepted, Seori needed to be understood from a more welfare-based standpoint. Due to a limited food supply and opportunities to eat, children often would be starving especially during the spring hunger when food was scarce. Therefore, the stealing of grain, was considered to be tolerable within the scope of the community ethos.

In this way, Seori was seen as inherently playful. As there existed a limit to the amount and types of food that could be stolen, any excess of stealing activities led to a fixed form of punishment. It was especially the case with stealing poultry, which was accompanied by the thrill of committing a prohibited act despite the potential danger of punishment. Moreover, this playful nature was intensified thanks to the combination of strategic competition in overcoming a variety of obstacles to reach a goal, along with a sense of anxiety of being caught at any given moment.

Meanwhile, Seori served a specific role in helping children learn about the community culture in terms of socialization and enculturation. Seori actually provided the means for children to better understand the cropping of cultivated land, as well as seeding, growth, and harvesting, naturally encouraging a deepened awareness of quantity and quality, and the taste and nature of agricultural produce. Eventually, children were able to grasp the economic conditions of their family and neighbors. In fact, while children witnessed firsthand the generosity and discipline of the community regarding theft, they were clearly able to recognize the priority of certain values and ethics within the community.

Seumugogae

스무고개

A game finding out an answer using only questions

A game using questions to find out an answer by using only 20 questions.

Seumugogae (literally meaning “20 hills;” also known as Twenty Questions) requires a type of thinking based on deductive reasoning. Although the time of its inception is unknown, what is certain is that it was introduced from other countries. The game precedes in a way that one player thinks of a target answer and others attempt to guess the answer. For example, if the answer is “rabbit,” people who need to figure out the answer by asking questions, such as, “Is it a plant?,” “Is it an animal?,” “Is it alive?,” or “Does it live in the ocean?” The player determining the target answer replies with a “Yes” or “No.” Since one question is regarded as one “hill,” players should find the answer within 20 “hills,” while the only clues provided are through yes or no answers.

At the end of the Joseon Period, new games were introduced to Korea from various cultures, which included Towel Passing and Bingo, while Seumugogae, or Twenty Questions, ended up being among them. However, Seumugogae was able to gain such significant traction thanks its natural application in the classroom. In other words, it is built upon the student-teacher relationship that already exists in schools. Despite its western origin, it is now regarded as a “Koreanized” game. The reason is based on the fact that the name of the game has changed to that of Seumugogae, using the word “hill,” which implies a difficulty of passing.

Seunggyeongdo Nori

승경도놀이

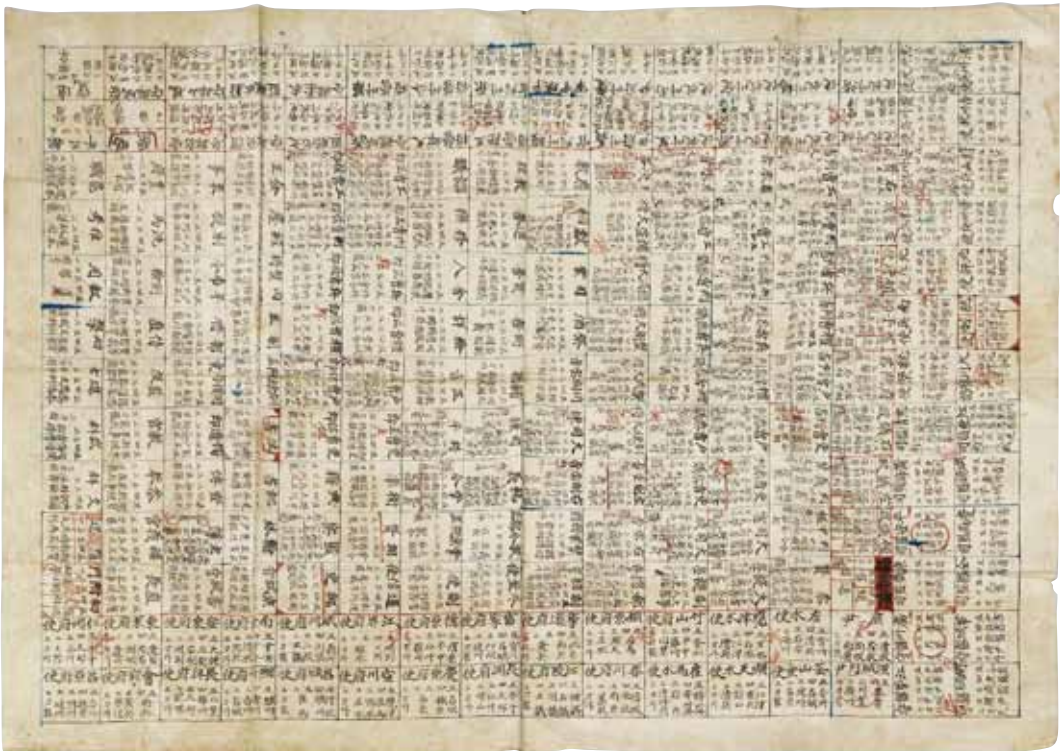
A game rolling a die and moving pieces accordingly on a game board with names of government positions while taking on the role of an officer

A folk game, where players compete to climb to the highest officer ranking on a board with past office positions on it by rolling a *yunmok*, or a die.

Seunggyeongdo means a diagram of officer ranking. The game, itself, is a variation of *Seungnamdonori*, which helps people become familiar with the name of places and famous locations. In *Seunggyeongdonori*, players roll a die, or a *yunmok* (a long wooden pentagonal prism with a different number of marks on each side) and moves up to the higher ranks accordingly, until reaching *Bong-joha* (a rank given to high officials upon resignation) to win the game. It was primarily enjoyed by sons of the *yangban* (the *traditional ruling class or gentry* of the Joseon Period) throughout the year, and, also particularly during the first



Jonggyeongdo | Gisanpungsokdo (Replica) | National Folk Museum of Korea



A Seunggyeongdo game board | National Folk Museum of Korea

month of the year, as the game was used to test their luck for the new year.

The board for the game was usually 80x120 cm in size and had a table for the ranking and how to proceed. The number of boxes in the table ranged from 80 to 300, while offering a number of ways to fill the boxes with different rankings. The four sides of the board were posts away from the capital, including the *gamsa* (governor), *byeongsa* (military commander-in chief), *susa* (admiral), and the *suryeong* (county magistrate) of major countries. *Jeong 1-pum* (1st rank in the primary class, higher than *Jong 1-pum*) was at the top of the middle rankings. From a row below *Jeong 1-pum*, was *Jong 1-pum* (1st rank in the secondary class), followed by *Jong 2-pum*, up through *Jong 9-pum*. There are two types of *yunmok*. One is a stick and the other is a die. The stick is about a 10-15 cm long pentagonal prism made of wood and has a different number of marks on each edge from 1 to 5. The die is a cube with different behaviors or actions on each side instead of numbers with red, blue, yellow, and white markers, as

well as a yellow marker with a red line.

The method of playing may vary according to the individual, but the traditional course of game play can be explained as follows. First, players roll their markers at the starting point called *chodo*. There are five sub-starting points in *chodo*: *Mungwa* (civil examination), *Mugwa* (military examination), *Eunil* (seclusion), *Namhaeng* (southward bound), and *Geunjol* (soldiers). After players determine the sub-starting point, they start to move their mark according to the number they get by rolling a *yunmok*. For example, in the case of *Mungwa*, if a 1 one is rolled, the player can reach *dogwa* (a special provincial examination); for a 2, the player can go to *byeolsi* (a regional special examination); for a 3, *jeongsi* (a palace courtyard examination); for a 4, *siknyeon* (a regular triennial examination); and for a 5, *jeunggwang* (an examination held in celebration of three events of national interest). The players have to reach the highest ranking, *Younguijeong* (chief state councilor) for *Mungwa*, or *dowonsu* (general-in-chief) for *Mugwa*, before other players are able to in order to win. But some posts have *kwonneung* (authorities) that penalize others, including dismissal or death, adding extra turns and excitement to the game. For example, if you become *hongmungwan* (a special advisor), who serves the king very closely, you can dismiss an opponent who outranks you.

However, the attacked opponent has a chance to roll the *yunmok*. If the opponent gets a certain number, he can keep his rank and discharge the attacker, *hongmungwan*. Penalties include banishment, in addition to dismissal and death. In the case of dismissal or banishment, there is a chance of reinstatement, while the penalty for death results in immediate elimination.

Seunggyeongdo Nori reflects the real politics of the Joseon Period, resulting in a very entertaining, yet educational experience, that provides an alternate way to meet the players' desire to thrive in a higher ranking. In other words, through the game, players can learn the types and functions of rank, as well as gain motivation to study and pass the *Gwageo* (civil examination). However, the *Gwageo* system was abolished upon the opening of sea ports to Japanese trade, leading Chinese literature and scholarship going by the wayside amid the growing emphasis on attaining knowledge of new subjects. Consequently, people stopped playing the game. Since all of the words on the board were written in Sino-Korean, the game is difficult and foreign for the generations of Hangul learners that would be soon to come.

Seungnamdo Nori

승람도놀이

A game visiting famous places by rolling a die and moving pieces accordingly on a game board with names of the places

A game traveling to famous locations on the board according to the number rolled on a die.

Seungnamdo or *Namseungdo* means a diagram for traveling to scenic locations, translating to the object of Seungnamdo Nori to be for players to embark on a journey from a certain point and compete with one another to become the first player to return to the starting point after traveling to famous spots throughout the country. As with *Jongjeongdo Nori*, this game is an indoor game, as well, and with the proper tools, can be played anytime throughout the year. People typically played it around the first month of the year of the lunar calendar. Game play requires *seungnamdo* (the board), a top with numbers acting as the die, and game pieces. The *seungnamdo* is either 100x70 cm, or 100x80 cm with more than 200 spaces, which has a length a little bit longer than its height. Each space has the name of a famous location with a number between 1 to 6 and a direction for a player to go next. Around Hanyang, the capital of Joseon and present-day Seoul, are the scenic locations of eight provinces. There was also a space called *chobu* between the starting point and the end point. The lower end of the top is shaped like a usual top, while the upper part of the top is not round, as in many cases, but rather hexagonal, numbered from 1 to 6. Sometimes a die or a *yunmok* can be used instead. A game piece is a symbol of a traveler moving around according to the number that a player rolls. It can be made of jade, copper, ivory, or the horn of a water buffalo, while all markers have different shapes and colors to be differentiated from each other.

Seungnamdo Nori varies depending on the board maker in terms of spots and routes. For example, one *seungnamdo* may have a simple “starting point” instead of the actual name of a location, while another one may have a route from Sungnyemun Gate (the south gate of Hanyang) to Sunginmun Gate (the east gate of Hanyang); or one may even have scenic locations of China instead



A Cheonggunamseungdo (Seungnamdo) game board | National Folk Museum of Korea

of Joseon. Typically, it was played by 5-6 boys or young men of the middle or higher classes. If the players add up to 6, they choose among characters, including a poet, a playboy, a model, a monk, a farmer, and a fisherman for added fun. The rules are simple. Simply throw a die, numbered from 1-5 or 1-6, and

move the game piece according to the number rolled. Prior to starting the game, players spin the top to decide who plays which character: 6 for the poet, 5 for the playboy, 4 for the model, 3 for the monk, 2 for the farmer, and 1 for the fisherman. They start from Seoul (Hanyang), which is at the very center of the board and travel through, for example, the western part of the Gyeonggi-do Province, Chungcheong-do Province, Gyeongsang-do Province, Jeolla-do Province, Hwanghae-do Province, Pyongan-do Province, Hamgyong-do Province, Gangwon-do Province, and eastern Gyeonggi-do Province. The player to return first from the travels is the winner. The setting, including characters, locations, and routes, often vary depending upon the designer of the board.

The poet is seen as having the greatest advantage since it is the character with the highest number assigned. However, that is not necessarily the case as there are many additional rules. To give game play a twist, each character is designated customized benefits and limitation. Also, there are locations that award certain characters based on the actual environment or history of the location. These would be decided and marked with circles of the color of the marker for the related character before starting the game. For instance, if the playboy arrives at Chokseongnu Pavilion in Jinju, Gyeongsang-do Province, the corresponding player is awarded the right to collect all the numbers that opponents have since "There was a big battle during the Japanese Invasion of Korea in 1592." Likewise, if the monk arrives at Yeongwangjeong Pavilion in Pyongyang, Pyongan-do Province, the corresponding player can collect all the numbers that others roll and advance accordingly. Also, there is a rule for cases where multiple players land on the same spot. If that space is occupied by the model, the monk may land there. If the space is initially occupied by the monk is entered by the model, the monk will have to give the number he rolls to the model on the next turn so that the model may be the first to proceed onward. In some cases, Hallasan Mountain in Jeju or Ullengdo Island has a "whirlwind," allowing players to shorten their journey if a certain number is rolled. Also, if a player gets a 1 or 2, he has to go backward and is trapped there for several turns. There are spaces for battle, banishment, or conscription, which will alter the path of game play. The battle with a foreign country at the border will delay the journey, while banishment will trap the player there. As a result, some spaces may shorten the journey, whereas others may lengthen the journey, adding to the amusement during the game.

There is a simpler, easier version for children aged 10 and under to use as practice prior to playing Seungnamdo Nori called *Goeulmodum*. This is how the

game works. First, pick a Chinese literature book and open it up to a random page. Among all the Chinese characters, remember those that can be a part of the name of a *goeul* (village) in Joseon. After closing the book, write down all the possible names of *goeuls* by adding the necessary Chinese characters. The one with the longest list wins. To make it more interesting, the player is often asked where the *goeul* is and has to give the right answer in order to receive a point, or lose point if answered incorrectly. Sometimes, players have to write down the administrative names of *goeuls* instead of the past names to receive a point. This game helped children learn about the historical changes to the *goeuls*, as well as their current names.

In short, Seungnamdo Nori is a game that enables people to learn about scenic and historic locations without going there in person, while similarly, there is a game called *Seunggyeongdo Nori*, which uses officer rankings instead of scenic landmarks. Seungnamdo Nori had a big educational impact due to its promoting the subject areas of geography, climate, land conditions, special characteristics, and historic places, as well as figures, in a very natural way. Consequently, players eventually grew to appreciate the nature of their country while showing a greater interest in geography, in addition to the names, locations, and history of various *goeuls*.

Siltteugi

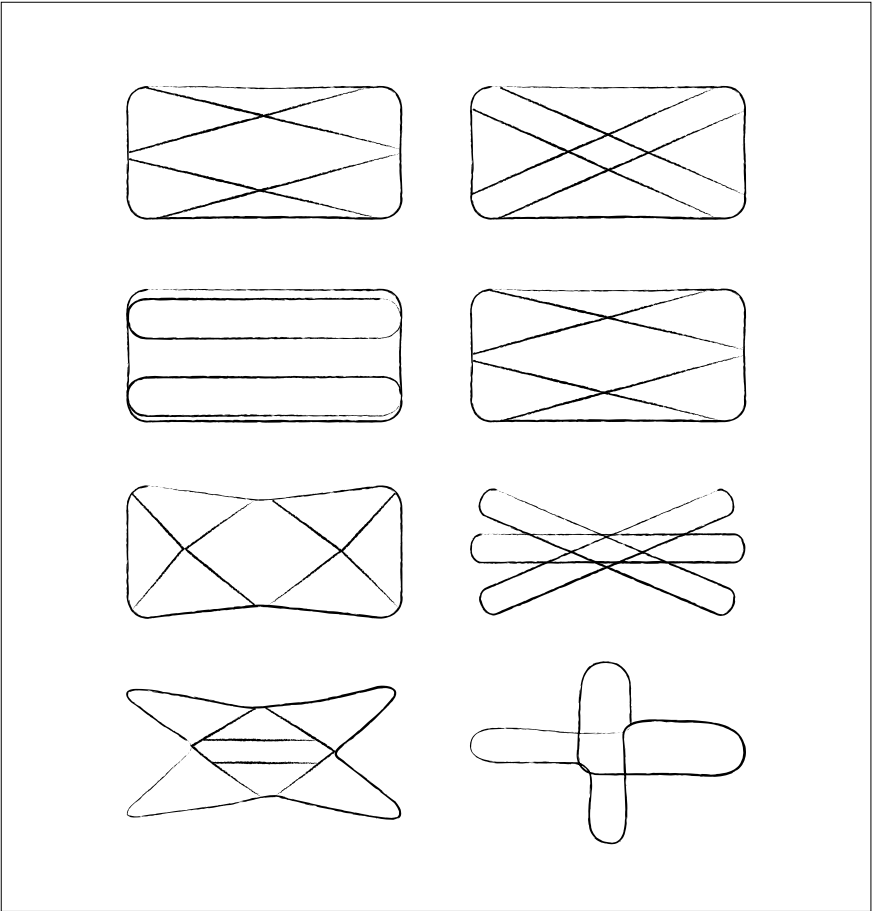
실뜨기

A game making various shapes using fingers and strings
between two people like Cat's Cradle

A game using a string connected to both hands that is passed back and forth between two players as they try to make various shapes with the string.

Siltteugi, similar to Cat's Cradle, is a game replacing the role of needles, using cloth instead of thread, to the fingers. This game has been enjoyed interna-

tionally over many years thanks to its universality. Siltteugi is played mostly by girls, while there are many ways to play it. The following is the most common. The game begins by wrapping a string around both hands, and wrapping it again from the initial state. Once it has been wrapped twice, the string wraps the palms and the back of the hands altogether. The player then sticks the middle fingers under the string on the palms of opposite hands. This basic shape is called *nalteul* (a looming machine). After that, the second player sticks the thumbs and index fingers between the scissors-shaped spaces of the *nalteul* to grab it, brings down the grasped parts under the string wrapping the back of the hands, and brings them up to the center between the hands. This second shape resembles a *badukpan* (a *Baduk* playing board). Players continuously give and take the strings in that way, while changing the shapes little by little in do-



Shapes of thread

ing so. There is also *jeotgarak* (chopsticks), *sonunkkal*, (bull's eye), *jeolgutgong* (a pestle), and other basic shapes as well. Players can repeatedly make the same basic shapes while exchanging the string. The order of repetition may vary, but the same shapes may be used again in each cycle. The game ends when a player fails to make a shape due to lack of skills or focus, essentially losing the game.

Besides the well-known basic shapes, skillful players create new shapes to outdo the opponent. Continuously creating new shapes is another way to play *Siltteugi*. *Tobjilhagi* (sawing) is a variation of *nalteul*, where both players wrapping a string around the hands, and sing while pushing and pulling the string. A player makes *nalteul*, and the other player pulls the two horizontal lines below. The player that makes *nalteul* brings down the parts wrapped around the middle fingers only, and then brings them back to the original place. Both players then push and pull the string to touch each other's hands on the same side by crossing hands. This way of playing is also called *Silgeongdalgeong*, an onomatopoeic word depicting the action of sawing. Players repeatedly sing a song that goes, "*Seulgeun seulgeun* (onomatopoeia of sawing), sawing as we go!" while simply enjoying the game play, as the purpose of the game does not lie in winning or losing.

Sokkum Nori

소꿉놀이

A role-playing game imitating daily life

A role-playing game using everyday materials.

Sokkum Nori, also called Sokkup Jangnan, is played nationwide using identical rules of play. This is one of the oldest games in human history. There were many records about *Pulgaksi Nori*, a doll game using dolls made of grass, in the various historic documents of Korea. Sokkum Nori (playing pretend) keeps changing and evolving as children keep finding new and unique materials to play

with. For example, modern-day children play teacher or doctor, but children in the past used to play rice cooker, or hemp cloth maker. Village weddings were something new and amazing events to imitate for the children playing house in the past. The following are lyrics from the song children used to sing for such events.

“Playing pretend” is done all over the world, and primarily has a focus of imitating cooking, table setting, and serving family members or guests. However, each country has its own food and custom of treating guests. The game essentially serves as both a way for children to practice what their lives may be like in the future and to become more familiar with each country’s culture for socialization. Children playing Sokkum Nori take their roles very seriously, considering themselves the real mothers or fathers. They reenact what they see and hear, and actively learn from the societies in which they live, thus spurring children on to act as adults instead of as children. Sokkum Nori is an imitation of the real world played within a shared imaginary world. In that world, sea-shells become bowls, grass becomes side dishes, and sand or dirt becomes rice, allowing children to play the game without the need for actual tools.

Songcheon Daljiptaeugi

송천 달집태우기

A custom wishing a good harvest by burning daljip

A custom burning *daljip* during the night of *Jeongwol Daeboreum* in Songsan Village of Songcheon-ri, Woldeung-myeon, Suncheon, Jeollanam-do Province.

The tradition of burning a *daljip* in Songsan Village has been transmitted from generation to generation and happily enjoyed by the villagers. It was designated as Intangible Cultural Property No. 24 of Jeollanam-do Province as of January 31, 1994.

Songcheon Daljiptaeugi is a combination of various seasonal customs. It



Dalrip dolgi



la tira de cuerda

Songcheon Daljipdaeugi | Suncheon, Jeollanam-do Province | 2001 | National Folk Museum of Korea



Daljip taeugi

Songcheon Daljiptaeugi | Suncheon, Jeollanam-do Province | 2001 | National Folk Museum of Korea

has been passed down along with the *Dangsan Ritual*, *Juldarigi* (tug-of-war), and farmers' music as a seasonal folk tradition of *Jeongwol Daeboreum* (the 15th of the first lunar month). This village has two *dangsans* (shrines) in two different locations. With a *nongakdae* (farmers' music troupe), villagers perform the *Dangsan Ritual* at *dangsans* and conduct a round of *Juldarigi* with an *amjul* and a *sutjul* prepared beforehand. *Juldarigi*, wherein all the villagers participate, determines not only the winning team, but also who should carry the burden of making a *daljip*. In other words, the losing team of the *Juldarigi* has to go to a mountain to collect bamboo and pine twigs to make a *daljip*.

The first step of creating a *daljip* is to collect bamboo and pine trees. People left at the village visit all the households to collect bundles of straw or dried firewood. Afterward, at a large vacant lot, bamboo poles are stood in a cone shape and tied together at the top. The empty space between the poles is also filled with bundles of straw, or dried firewood, that readily burn. Also, the outside is covered by pine needles and straw, starting from the bottom to a high point, as tall as a person. In particular, a gap called the *daljipmun* (the door of a *daljip*) is made on the eastern side, which faces the rising moon. The villagers believe that their *daljip* should be taller and burn longer than those of the other villages. Therefore, they try to build it to be as tall and as large as possible. To prolong the period of burning, a tree trunk is sometimes deliberately added into a *daljip*. Going beyond just a mere belief, the size of the *daljip* in the year determines the power relationship with the neighboring villages throughout the year, as the village with the tallest *daljip* that burned the longest used to domineer over the other villages.

In the past, kites that children used to fly during the winter were tied up to a *daljip* and were let free as the *daljip* and the connecting line burned off. These kites were called *aengmagiyeon* (kite used as a charm against evil influence) designed with a written Chinese character, “*ae*,” meaning evil spirit (厄). These kites were released to protect people from *ae*s. Also, those who had fallen ill or were caught in *samjae* (three years of misfortune) put their underwear to a *daljip* to burn them together. These days, people generally put papers with wishes written on them instead of following the practices of the past. They insert their wish papers into the straw ropes, wrapping the *daljip*. In short, the focus of the custom shifted from preventing misfortune to bringing good luck.

When a *daljip* was completed, all the villagers gathered together to play farmers' music enthusiastically around the time of the moonrise. The society for preserving the custom prepares a ceremonial table in front of the *daljip* and

holds a short ritual. Although the society heads usually led the ceremony, upon the attendance of high-profile figures, including community leaders, they get a chance to bow as well. Following the ritual, villagers circle the *daljip* and sing along with the chorus, saying “*Eoeolssadeorideollong*” from the *apsori* (the line sang by a lead singer) to enjoy their time with each other.

As the moon rises in the eastern sky, multiple people set the *daljip* on fire with torches. The fire spreads inward from the outside, which is covered with dry straw to ignite a massive ball of flames. The rhythm of the farmers’ music gets faster, and people, once again, yell out the chorus “*Eoeolssadeorideollong*” with acclamation after the *apsori*.

As the *daljip* catches fire, the bundles of dry straw and firewood add fire-power, allowing fresh pine trees and gluey resin to burn, generating a black cloud of smoke surging into the sky. Also, burning fresh bamboo poles makes the sound of sputtering fireworks, and sparks scatter, all of which produce spectacular scenery against the night sky. After a while, the bamboo poles fall, lessening the strength of the flame. The people of Songcheon Village believes that the land in the direction of the collapse of the *daljip* will enjoy a rich harvest. Although Songcheon Daljiptaeugi is a short event at present, all villagers in the past used to enjoy it till dawn amid the playing of farmers’ music.

Songpa Daribapgi

송파 다리밟기

A folk custom crossing a bridge with instrumental performances and seonsori

A folk custom crossing a bridge with instrumental performances and leading chants, or *seosori*, in the night of *Jeongwol Daeboreum* in Songpa-gu, Seoul, under the lead of shamans.

Songpa Daribapgi is a local folk performance based on the Songpajang Market built at the Songpanaru dock, which was a transportation hub of greater

Seoul. The Songpajang Market was established in response to the *Yukjubijeon* of Seoul, under government approval and protection. It earned profit by obtaining local products beforehand, which were going to be delivered to Seoul at a later date. In addition to the geographical advantage, it was protected by the *yusu* (special mayor) of Gwangju, who directed the area. In this regard, it was developed into a *doga sijang* (a market with a club house of businessmen in the same field), which was a permanent market, rather than a five-day market. The merchants of Songpajang strengthened their unity, protection, and economic vitality by carrying out folk customs, including the *Songpa Sangdae Nori* (a mask performance), Songpa Daribapgi, and *Jisinbapgi* (a custom wishing for the well-being of the village and households, as well as for a rich harvest). In this regard, the history of the Songpa Daribapgi is related to the formation and promotion of the Songpajang, with an origin tracing back to at least the reign of King Yeongjo (1724 to 1776).

Songpa Daribapgi was suspended during the Japanese Occupation and restored under the name of the “*Songpa Dapgyo Nori*” in 1959. Also, it was designated as Intangible Cultural Property No.3 of Seoul Metropolitan City in 1989, under the name, “Songpa Daribapgi” (Songpa Bridge Crossing), and has been passed down until this very day.

Songpa Daribapgi is a form of treading and passing bridges in the night of *Daeboreum*, in the same manner of other bridge crossings in Seoul, as well as across the country, also referred to as *Dapgyo* or *Dapgyo Nori*. There was a belief that crossing bridges and gazing at the full moon on *Daeboreum* would heal leg-related diseases and cast out bad luck for the year. However, Songpa does not have a bridge, resulting in the Songpa Daribapgi beginning with building a temporary bridge using wood in the market on the 5th of the first lunar month. During the construction, children come out to play around it, amid the adult spectators. Around the 14th, participants hold a rehearsal, before the moonrise when people start performing the custom in earnest while creating a lively rhythm.

Sossaum

소싸움

A game making two bulls fighting each other to decide a winner

A custom pitting bulls against each other after having been brought out from the grassy fields of the farming communities by neighborhood children. Today, it has evolved into an event where professional bull-fighters put bulls against each other in an arena in front of a large number of spectators.

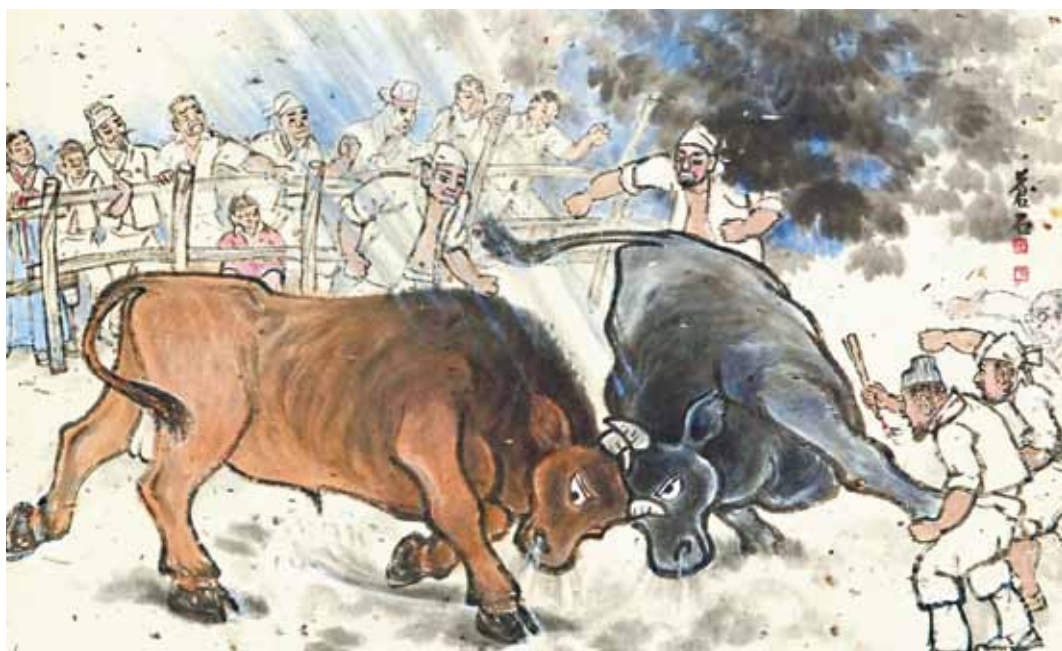
It is unknown exactly when this practice began, since there are no remaining records on the origin of Sossaum. However, many estimate that bull fighting first began around 3,000 years ago, around the time when humans began cultivating cattle.

In the past, children used to let their bulls graze in open fields, which naturally led to fighting among the bulls since they had to compete for food in crowded areas. This sparked the idea for children to bring their bulls and have them fight one another to pass the time.

The most powerful weapon for bulls is their horns. Well-fed but poorly trained ones often fail to serve as fighting bulls since they are too overweight for agile movement. Farmers raising fighting bulls provide the bulls with moderate training every day, which includes trail running or the hauling of heavy objects to bolster stamina, or the towing of old tires while gradually increasing the weight with stones and cement to help build up their strength.

Unlike plowing cows, fighting bulls are not fed plain fodder because they must be strong. Rather, farmers often give the bulls nutrient-rich feed while having them drink restorative herb medicine before the fight, and also providing a painkiller, or a headache reliever, to reduce the pain caused by being hit by another bull during the bout.

Weighing is the first step in Sossaum. Bulls are categorized into three weight classes: A rank, including bulls over 730 kg; B rank, including bulls weighing between 641 to 729 kg; C rank, including bulls weighing less than 640 kg. Only bulls belonging to the same weight class are allowed to fight each other. Whenever a match begins, the bulls typically initiate the match by glar-



Sossaum | Lee Eok-yeong | National Folk Museum of Korea



Cheongdo Sossaum | Cheongdo, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province | National Folk Museum of Korea

ing at each other in what is referred to as a *nunssaum* (a stare down), until the owners induce them to attack. Once the physical struggle begins, the owners also encourage their bulls by cheering alongside them.

In every match, there is a referee who initiates the fighting and decides the victor and loser of the match. These referees are called *dogam*, and they are fully entrusted to officiate the matches. There is no time limit to the bullfight. In general, twenty to thirty minutes is enough time to finish a single match, but some matches can take as long as an hour. If a bull tries to run away or falls down, he is declared the loser. After fully exhausting their physical strength during the match, some bulls lose the will to fight. They would search for a way out or drop their tails to a wagging motion. If a bull breathes heavily with its lower abdomen moving up and down, excretes feces, or foams at the mouth, this means that it is over-exhausted. Bulls reaching this state will typically end up running away.

Strength is the best attribute for fighting bulls. A bull with good skills is no match for a strong one that simply uses brute force. Of course, good skills in combination with strength, make for the best competitor.

In the past, owners might have taken bulls to open fields to spontaneously pit them against each other, however, as cattle began to be raised as livestock, spontaneous Sossaum began to grow less common. In the modern day, professional bull trainers present well-trained fighting bulls, elevating the excitement. The winner takes home a huge sum of money, eventually increasing the value of the bull.

Sossaum is a Korean custom with a long history. It used to provide local residents with catharsis, as well as a form of entertainment when there was not much to see or do for fun. The positive memories associated with the game motivate many Koreans to come out and see bulls gore each other even amid various forms of entertainment available these days. The most likely reason for its ongoing popularity lies in the fact that watching bulls, who are strong and huge yet pitifully tactless, fighting with their huge horns ignites a sense of delight and thrill within spectators. Witnessing a bull impressively defeat an opponent also gives people vicarious satisfaction as well.

Sotdaetagi

쑈대타기

An act of performing artistry on poles or ropes

A performance of a *sotdaejaengi*, where one enacts Sotdaetagi and speaks wittily with a *maehossi*, a clown below the *sotdae* (pole) while doing headstands, hanging, and playing instruments on a *sotdae* or a rope connecting two *sotdaes*.

Sotdaetagi is found in many old works of literature, with descriptions about its style of play, as well as graphic references that include *Gamnotaeng* (paintings about the teachings of the Buddha) and a genre painting, which illuminate upon the understandings of Sotdaetagi, despite its no longer being passed down among generations.

Sotdaetagi is categorized into two types: techniques performed on a *sotdae* and techniques performed on a rope. The former includes balancing, hanging, hand-standing, and playing instruments, while the latter involves tightrope-walking (crossing, hanging) and playing instruments, with the playing of instruments featured as a common element between the two techniques. Another distinguishing characteristic is that the *sotdaejaengi* displays witticism through conversations acted out with a *maehossi*, a clown under the rope.

Balancing on a *sotdae* requires one to manage the perfect balance of the body and to prepare for the next movement. The performer stands on the top of the *sotdae* or maintains balance by using the hands or abdomen. Hanging can be divided into hanging on the top of the *sotdae* and hanging on the middle. Handstands takes place on either one or both hands on the top of the *sotdae*, which is frequent during Sotdaetagi. The element of playing instruments on the *sotdae* shows that the performers were proficient at playing traditional instruments, as well as *sotdae* techniques.

The rope balancing techniques are the most outstanding feature of Sotdaetagi. The rope for supporting the *sotdae* was added to the stage of the performance so that more techniques could be presented. The various skills range from standing on a rope, crossing the rope by walking or crawling, and hanging on the rope by the feet to play instruments. It can be assumed that, as the rope



Pyochungsa Gamrotaeng | Sotdaetagi in a buddhist painting | Miryang, Gyeongsangnam-do Province | 18th Century

for holding a *sotdae* was also utilized for the performance, the performance was expanded and developed into *Ssangjulbaegi*, which is a performance on the two ropes supporting a *sotdae* from two opposite sides, as well as from on the top of the *sotdae*.

Quips are also an important trait of traditional Korean performances. According to many historical records, Sotdaetagi embodies this characteristic through jokes made between the *sotdaejaengi* and the *maehossi*. Along with the *sotdaejaengi*, documents indicate a *maehossi* dancing or holding a fan. The role of the *maehossi* is presumably to quip with the *sotdaejaengi* and induce reactions from spectators along to the music. Although the exact nature of the quips have not been preserved, the various graphic references illustrating *maehossi* point to a high probability that the quips were included in the Sotdaetagi. In

particular, it can be imagined that the focus of the performance shifted from advanced techniques to audience interaction through a *maebossi* acting as the medium as Sotdaetagi developed into *Ssangjulbaegi*. Although the techniques became simplified, witty conversations with the *maebossi* entertained the spectators. As time progressed, the role of the *maebossi* grew more prevalent, along with the increase in time spent bantering back and forth. In short, Sotdaetagi transformed from an advance-technique-oriented performance into a Korean-style Sotdaetagi that primarily featured interaction with the audience and entertainment, including playful bantering with a *maebossi* and the playing of instruments.

Ssangnyuk

쌍륙

A game using fifteen game pieces each and a die to be the first to occupy the opponent's pieces

A game using fifteen game pieces for each person or team, along with two dice, to be the first to move one's pieces to a certain place or remove all opponent's game pieces from the game board.

Ssangnyuk is a type of indoor game. It can be played all year round, but is mostly played at the beginning of the Lunar New Year, as well as during the holiday period of Chuseok, or on other days throughout the winter season. Ssangnyuk requires a *ssangnyukpan* (a game board), 30 game pieces, and two dice. The size of a *ssangnyukpan* is not standardized, yet most of them are about 80 cm wide and 40 cm long. There are two types of boards, one with high walls surrounding the edges and another without walls. There are 24 spaces drawn on the board with two large squares in the middle that are not used for playing, but rather, for storing ousted game pieces. The squares are distinguished by either *Anyuk* (inlands) or *Bakkatyuk* (outlands).



Ssangnyukchineun Moyang | Gisanpungsokdo (Replica) | National Folk Museum of Korea

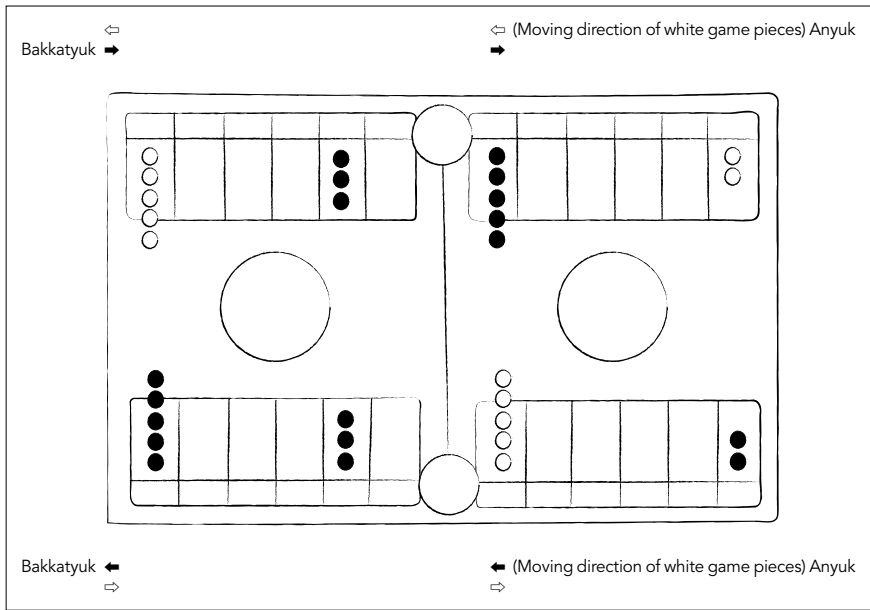
Typical Ssangnyuk dice are also called *tuja*, and are made from ivory, or the bones of various animals. The dice are cubed-shaped with 1 cm long edges, and one to six dots on each side. Dice made of tiger bones were preferred, as players believed that they could roll the numbers they wanted with them. The game pieces are 7 cm tall with round bottoms and pointy tops for an easy grip. Specifically, the game pieces consist of round saucers at the bottom, and a long stick standing on top of it. The stick is divided in two sides by a line in the middle, while the top and bottom sides are colored differently. Two main colors are used for the game pieces to distinguish the two players, comprised of either black and white or blue and red. Some players were also known to have simply used *Baduk*

stones. Each player uses 15 pieces, but some regions preferred using 16.



A Ssangnyuk game board | Joseon Period | National Folk Museum of Korea

The rules and game pieces of Ssangnyuk vary from region to region. Similar to *Yutnori*, the game could be played by two players, or two teams of players. Typically, players place the black and white pieces on the board in accordance with the predetermined rules,



A Ssangnyuk game board

and move them forward depending on the number rolled. First, two players sit on both sides of the board, choose the color of their game pieces (black or white), and each player places 15 pieces on the board. The way of placing the white pieces is as follows: six pieces on the right space (*anyuk*), where a number “6” is written; three pieces on the left space (*bakkatyuk*), where a number “5” is written; two pieces on the space of the opponent’s *anyuk*, where a number “1” is written; and five pieces on the space of the opponent’s *bakkatyuk*, where a number “1” is written. The way of placing the 15 black pieces is the same; they simply in the opposite direction.

Before playing Ssangnyuk, players should decide who will start the game. This process is called *Jaengdu*. Typically, players roll dice and the higher roll goes first. The main game starts by rolling the dice and can be rolled by using a bamboo case or hands. Players move their pieces through the spaces on the board according to their roll, while the dice can be rolled together or separately. Many players roll them separately to let them collide in order to create a more favorable situation. Sometimes players designate a place to roll the dice, and consider dice rolled outside of the designated area, void, calling them the *nak* (out of bounds).

Players should move the game pieces according to the numbers they rolled with the dice. If a player rolls a six and three, the player can move the same piece six spaces, then three, or move two pieces six spaces, and another piece three. However, the player cannot divide the total roll of nine as they want, such as by moving five and four spaces. If there is a game piece of the opponent occupying a space (called a *bari*, a single piece) en route, the player can capture it and place down their piece. A piece captured by the opponent player must be removed from the board. If there are more than two opponent game pieces in a space, that space cannot be entered.

A game of Ssangnyuk proceeds under perpetual tension, as both players, or teams, should capture the opponent's game pieces to revive whatever pieces of theirs had been captured. Rolling the same numbers with two dice is occasionally favorable, however players should be focused on the strategical placing of their pieces during game play to win the game. In other words, players should use the combination of the numbers they rolled with two dice in order to capture as many opponent game pieces as they can, and place their own pieces on favorable spaces. *Yutnori* allows the players to move their pieces one more time after catching the opponent's pieces, unlike that of Ssangnyuk. Players can win the game by gathering all 15 pieces of their own spaces in *anyuk*, or removing all 15 pieces from the board after gathering them in their own territories. When the latter is complete, it called a *dong*. Typical game play requires three games, while the player scoring two or more *dongs* wins the entire game.

Ssangnyuk had been introduced from overseas, yet was played by Koreans for over a millennium. In particular, the game appears in various records and paintings from the Joseon Period, indicating the game having been widely-known among the people at the time. According to an old historical record, Ssangnyuk requires a strategy to deploy soldiers for war. Rolling proper numbers with the dice is important, but moving the 15 game pieces properly is also vital to win the game. As a result, the players must focus on the entire flow of the game and make a wise decision at every turn. This style of game play eventually promotes an increased sense of concentration and judgment.

Sseolmae Tagi Nori

썰매 타기놀이

A custom sledding during the winter

A custom riding a sled on snow or ice during the winter.

The origin of this pastime cannot be accurately identified. However, there are some claims that people did ride *sseolmae* (sleds), during the Joseon Period citing that *sseolmae* were used as load carriers at construction sites. We can assume that the history of Sseolmae Tagi might have been deduced from the historical records that nine sleds were used in the process of building the Hwaseong fortress of Suwon, and that sleds were used as a tool to carry loads in reconstructing the Changgyeonggung Palace and Changdeokgung Palace during the same period.

Sseolmae is a key aspect of this custom, featuring variations including freight *sseolmae*, ski-like *sseolmae* worn on one's feet, and passenger *sseolmae* for children. The bottom layers of freight *sseolmae* are shaved to be rounded, while their front and rear tips are bent upwards to glide easier. Thick wooden panels are enclosed between the left and right sides and the width between them is about two ja (Korean feet, about the length of a ruler), while the bottom of the deck is made by conjoining six to seven wooden boards.

The sizes of the ski-like *sseolmae* worn on one's feet are not consistent. Generally, the size is about 1 m, while some ski-like *sseolmae* for children are about 50 cm. In general, the width is about 12 cm, and the thickness is, 5 cm. The front side of the sled is curled upward like the front side of a ski. There are four

holes in the middle of the deck to tie one's foot with strings through holes. *Chang* is used as the pole of the ski. The foot is fixed only by the side, while the

heel remains free to move so as to help turn the *sseolmae* to the left or the right, or brake. Wearing this type of *sseolmae* is convenient for hunting, since it enables fluid naviga-



A sleigh kit | Following liberation from Japan | National Folk Museum of Korea



Sseolmae Tagi Nori | Lee Eok-yeong | National Folk Museum of Korea

tion even in the snowy forests.

Children's *sseolmae* vary in shape but usually they are made by affixing square bars under a board of a size fit for children, while bamboo or metal chains are attached to the board, which is designed to facilitate a gliding movement on snow or ice. When children ride *sseolmae*, they hold bars with gimlets in both hands to move forward, change direction, or stop. However, one can ride while in a standing position. In Chungcheongnam-do Province, people ride *sseolmae* standing, wearing what was called a foot *sseolmae*. Skillful riders usually used this type of *sseolmae*.

Sseolmae Taginori varies depending on the place of play. On one hand, people glide here and there sitting on *sseolmae* on flat ground, while people also glide lying down or ride down slopping hills. In order to guarantee greater speed while minimizing the output of energy, the blades of the bottom layers of *sseolmae* must be perfectly parallel. Furthermore, children enjoy Sseolmae Taginori by linking several *sseolmae* in a line and pushing and pulling them. Also, there are competitions to decide who can move faster for a certain distance, as

well as team competitions to try and knock down the opponent. Furthermore, they also attempt to score goals into the opponent's goalpost while playing Sseolmae Taginori.

Sseolmae Taginori is a common winter pastime that can be seen in many regions of Korea. In fact, many used to play Sseolmae Taginori during the winter season. In the past, it was commonly seen in many towns within Uijeongbu. In particular, people in Howon-dong used to play Sseolmae Taginori on Mangwolcheon when it was frozen over.

In rural areas, village elders used to fill empty rice paddies with water and let them freeze over to make a place for Sseolmae Taginori, called *sseolmaejang*, for children. These days, however, children enjoy Sseolmae Taginori in designated locations, including outdoor *sseolmaejang*.

Ssireum

씨름

A game knocking down the opponent using strength and skill

A traditional holiday game pitting wrestlers against one another, passed down both as a form of entertainment during seasonal festivals, including *Dano*, *Chuseok*, and *Baekjung*, as well as serving as a physical fitness training sport for soldiers.

The origin of the word *ssireum* is believed to be the Korean verb *ssirunda*, meaning to confront each other, comparing strength. *Gakjeo*, *Baekhui*, and *Gakgi* are other names for this classic game, all denoting the same meaning to confront and fight. The first records of Ssireum in Korean history were found on wall paintings of two Goguryeo tombs, the Tomb of Ssireum (Gakjeochong), and Jangcheon-1ho Tomb, grounding the assumption that that Ssireum was a popular sport during the Goguryeo Period.

Ssireum was enjoyed by a wide range of people, from the *yangban* (the gen-



Sireumhaneun Moyang | Gisanpungsokdo (Replica) | National Museum of Korea

try of the Joseon Period) to commoners. The changes and developments that were made through social diffusion and being played intensively during certain times of the year, are the unique characteristics of Ssireum, while it has also become a seasonal custom of Korea, played on *Dano*, *Baekjung*, and *Chuseok*.

Traditional Ssireum competitions are generally held for three days, under one-round elimination rules. The final winner received a yellow cow as a prize. Given the fact that farming was considered a foundation of the nation in the past, the prize helped encourage more diligent farming.

The Korea Ssireum Association was founded on November 30, 1981, as a preparation agency for the professional Ssireum league. The first Cheonhajangsa Ssireum Competition was held on April 14, 1983, prior to Ssireum becoming the second most prominent professional sport of Korea. The Korea Ssireum Federation holds the Cheonhajangsa Ssireum Competition, Seollajangsa Ssireum Competition, Chuseokjangsa Ssireum Competition and Jiyeokjangsa Ssireum Competition, and the grant titles of *Cheonhajangsa*, *Baekdujangsa*, *Hallajangsa*, *Geumgangjangsa*, and *Taebaekjangsa*, to the winners of the competitions.

Ssireum is one of the oldest customs of Korea, deciding a winner through a



Ssireumdo | Gakjeochong

hand-to-hand competition of brute strength between two people. There were not many tools for entertainment in the past, and Ssireum was the easiest and most accessible, as it only required the use of one's bare hands. It was an iconic game for everyone, from children and young adults to adults, in a society where people of every age group lived in harmony. Also, people could compare their strength through competition while naturally developing their physical fitness during farming's off-season.



Ssireum | Genre painting of Kim Hong-do | National Museum of Korea

Sugeondolligi

수건돌리기

A game letting the player who is “it” walk around a group of people sitting in a circle and putting a towel behind one of them to tag the next person

A game letting the person who is “it” walk around a group of people sitting in a circle and singing, before placing a towel behind one of them to tag the next person.

Sugeondolligi (towel passing), sometimes called *sugeonchatgi* (towel finding) depending on the region, is a simple game that can be enjoyed anywhere there is a vacant lot or a grassy field big enough for many people to sit around. It can be easily witnessed as one of the various group activities included during picnics, since the method of play is relatively easy and a number of people can play it together while singing.

There is a theory, however, that this game is not indigenous to Korea, but rather has been introduced from the U.K. There is a song in the U.K. that goes, “I sent a letter to my love and on the way I dropped it. One of you has picked it up and put it in your pocket.” It is told that the song reflects the marriage-by-capture archetype of old. Nonetheless, Sugeondolligi settled into being a traditional Korean game, and is very well known across the country.

There are three ways to play. The first variation involves players doing a round of *Gawi Bawi Bo* to determine who will be “it.” Everyone else then sits around in a circle. When there are many players present, as many as two or three people can be chosen as “it” to increase the thrill of game play. The player who is “it” goes around outside the circle of people with a towel in-hand, dropping the towel carefully behind a player whom the player who is “it” is able to tag, before continuing to circle. During the drop, movement must be done as discretely as possible so that the chosen players do not know the towel has been dropped behind them. During the course of each round, the players sitting around in a circle should sing together while periodically checking behind with their hands to see whether there is a dropped towel or not. If there happens to be a towel, that player should then grab the towel and chase the player who is

“it.” Upon making a full round prior to successfully occupying the vacant seat, the player is considered successfully tagged; or if the player does not notice the towel until the player who is “it” circles back to tag the back of the player, that player then receives a penalty. A penalty may be chosen by other players, including something that can be done easily and quickly, such as writing their name with their buttocks in the air, singing, or dancing.

The second variation involves determining the player who is “it” in the same way. The remaining players then sit around in a circle with their knees drawn up and inward while the player who is “it” sits in the center. Afterward, people sitting in the circle pass a towel under their knees secretly so as to hide its location. Once it has been relayed around in some fashion, the player sitting in the center should discover the location of towel to award a penalty to the person hiding it. If the location of the towel cannot be discovered, the player who is “it” receives a penalty.

Lastly, the third variation involves no “it” whatsoever. All players sit in a circle and sing a simple song while passing towels hand-to-hand. During or after passing along the towel to the rhythm of the song, the person who drops the towel, or has the towel at the end of the song, needs to sing a song or show off a unique talent that is demanded by the other players.

There are a few limits to this game in terms of place, time, method, and tools, allowing everyone, regardless of age, to easily partake in the game. The way of hiding and seeking a towel to avoid a penalty arouses significant tension, stimulating a sense of pleasure and excitement to everyone playing. It is mostly played outdoors and helps participants increase their stamina by chases that ensue between each other so as to avoid being tagged. Also, given that a number of people play this game together, players can enhance their sense of unity, while also encouraging players to learn new songs to partake in the game.

Sullaejapgi

술래잡기

A game finding children that are hiding

A game finding children that are hiding to tag and designate a player as the next player who is “it.”

Although the time of inception of Sullaejapgi cannot be verified, given that it is a universal game played regardless of tools, place, time, and victory or defeat, the origin presumably traces back over the course of history. The game can be enjoyed either outdoors or indoors, and the range of player movement is relatively expansive in comparison to other games. Sullaejapgi can be enjoyed at any location designated by the players, including a specific place in a house, a village, a mountain, or a field. Children typically play the game outdoors, and enjoy it both during the daytime and at night, highlighting its versatility. Anywhere from two players to dozens of players may partake at one time, including people of all ages.

After the number of players and the location are decided, players determine who will be “it,” as well as the home base for those that are caught, which is typically a conspicuous place, such as a specific tree, wall, main entrance, utility pole, or rock. There are two methods of play that involve either choosing a player to be “it” through a round of *Gawi Bawi Bo*, or separating the players into two teams. The next person to take over is chosen in the same way among the players who are caught as the game continues on.

Once the location and the player designated as “it” have been determined, the game begins. The player who is “it” uses both hands to cover their eyes and counts to the predetermined number loud enough for others to hear. In the meantime, other players are busy hiding themselves in places sought out in advance. In some cases, multiple players hide in the same place, while the predetermined number to count up to differs depending on the town and the group. Once the numbers have been counted, the search for the players in hiding begins. The moment a hidden player is found, and the player who is “it” yells out the name of the player, they run back to the home base. If the hidden



Nyunssamaegihaneun Moyang | Gisanpungsokdo (Replica) | National Folk Museum of Korea

player reaches the home base first, that player can remain in play. However, if the opposite occurs, that player is then captured. Meanwhile, another player in hiding whom has yet to be found, can covertly tap the home base to rescue any captured players. In this way, everyone enjoys the thrill of having to hide, while others have to intensively seek out the rest of the group amid the joy arising from the tension and alliances between one another.

When there are two teams playing, only one of the players in hiding needs to survive in order for all of the captured players to be revived for the next round.

While the player who is “it” looks around for the players in hiding, those who are already caught, as well as those that are still in play, sing the following Sullaejapgi song to add amusement to the game while also raising tension among all the player involved.

“Hide, hide! I see your hair! Hide yourself well!”

Different regions and towns feature different lyrics to the song, which is sung as a chorus during the game.

Suyeong Jisinbapgi

수영 지신밟기

A custom wishing the well-being of the village and households,
as well as for a good harvest

A custom consisting of visiting each house to perform rituals in honor of the earth gods, or *Jisin*, in the form a fundraiser, or *geollip*, at the beginning of the year in the area of Suyeong of Busan Metropolitan City.

The residents of Suyeong once performed a ritual to wish for a rich harvest, along with other related customs. The musical performance of farmers during Suyeong Jisinbapgi served as a ritual to wish for well-being and the casting out of evil spirits when laying the ground of a house, during the village gatherings or at special times and seasons.

Suyeong Jisinbapgi was performed as a type of *geollip* (fundraiser), where a *yaryugye* (the theater troupe of a *Yaryu*) visits all the houses starting from the 3rd day of the first lunar month for about 10 days. It wishes well-being without misfortune, while collecting grain and money to fund the *Suyeong Yaryu* (field play) held on *Jeongwol Daeboreum*. Although it is difficult to trace the time of its inception in history, given that the purpose of Suyeong Jisinbapgi was to fund *Suyeong Yaryu*, it might have started about 250 to 300 years ago in tandem with the formation of the *Suyeong Yaryu*. Suyeong Jisinbapgi was therefore conducted as a kind of *geollip*, yet also strongly related to the *Suyeong Yaryu* of the past. Currently, however, it is conducted entirely as a separate entity. Also, it was designated as Intangible Cultural Property No. 22 of Busan Metropolitan City in January 2014.

The performance of Suyeong Jisinbapgi consists of four *madangs*, or chapters: *Dangsan Puri* and *Umul Puri*, *Daemun (Insa) Puri*, *Saengwondaek Puri*, and *Madangbapgi* and *Gi* (旗) *Sogakje*. The first *madang*, *Dangsan Puri* and *Umul Puri*, is a ritual where people inform the gods of the village that they will perform *Jisinbapgi*, by first carrying out a ritual called *Dangsan Puri* at the *Songssihalmaedang Shrine* in the mountain of Suyeong. Afterward, they go to the shrine of General Choe Yeong at the east side of the village to perform an-

other *puri*. Finally, after having gone to a spring providing drinkable water to hold the *Umul Puri*, the actual *Jisinbapgi* is then conducted at each house.

The second *madang*, *Daemun Puri*, is performed by a *sangsoe* (a leading gong-player) and the performance troupe guided to the house of the *saengwon* (classics licentiate). The *sangsoe* stands a flag in front of a door and informs the owner of the house that the troupe has come for *Jisinbapgi*. The troupe then goes into the yard to perform the *Daemun Puri* for the exorcism of evil spirits and bringing in good luck with dances called the *Hanmadang Chum Nori*. The *Hanmadang Chum Nori* is comprised of a *Deotbaegichum Hanmadang*, a unique dance of the Suyeong, *Sogochum*, and *Bukchum Nori*. Meanwhile, the owner prepares a ceremonial table on the *daecheongmaru* (the main floor of the house) to carry out a *gosa* (shamanic ritual in which food is offered to the spirits in order to avoid misfortune and bring good luck).

Afterward, the troupe commences the third *madang*, *Saengwondaek Puri*, performing rituals in the order of the *Seongju Puri* (a ritual for the guardian spirit of the house), *Jowang Puri* (a ritual for the guardian spirit of the kitchen), *Jangdok Puri* (a ritual at the platform for the crocks of sauces and condiments), *Gobang Puri* (a ritual at the shed), and *Sapjjak Puri* (a ritual at the twig gate).

Sapjjak Puri is concluded with the troupe shouting, "Out with the evil spirits and in with good fortune!" Following the *Jisinbapgi* in the house, the owner sets the table with alcoholic beverages and snacks to serve to the participants. Also, in exchange for the rituals, the owner offers money or grains, which a *saryeong* (a troupe member playing the role of a servant at the local governmental office) collects them into a sack to uses them for *Yaryu*.

When people finish the food amid a brightened atmosphere, the troupe starts the fourth *madang*, *Madangbapgi*, treading the yard once more. After dancing, they visit each house for *Jisinbapgi*, to cast out evil spirits and wish for fortune. The last phase, *Gi Sogakje*, consists of burning the flag while standing in front of the door. *Gi Sogakje* is another kind of ritual flag burning that chases away any bad luck. The flag, which was used for a year, is not used for the next year, rather, it is burned to ensure the peace and prosperity of the village.

Suyeong *Jisinbapgi* features two primary kinds of performers: musicians playing instruments, and the *japsaek*, artists performing theatrical expressions, including dance, that follow the musicians. The musicians drive out evil spirits by playing instruments while also providing accompaniment for all the *puris*. A flag bearer stands at the head of the line, followed by musicians, including a *sangsoe* and the performers of *hojeok* (hooting), *jing* (gong), *jangggu* (a double-

headed drum with a narrow waist in the middle), *buk* (drum), and *sogo* (a small drum). Behind them are the *japsaek*, consisting of a *sadaebu* (nobleman), *pal-daebu* (a character claiming to be of a higher class than *sadaebu*), *jipjuin* (the owner of the house, Kim Saengwon), *juinmanim* (a madam), *posu* (a drummer), *gaksi* (a bride), *meoseum* (a servant), *munseojabi* (a person dealing with paperwork), *saryeong* (a servant of the local governmental office), *chonggak* (a bachelor), *georin* (a beggar), and *maeul saram* (villagers). The *japsaek* usually banter among each other between the *puris* of musicians, perform a short play together, or skit to make people laugh through ridiculous gestures.

Suyeong Nongcheong Nori

수영 농청놀이

A folk game imitating farming

A custom imitating farming practices based on a group of farmers called *nongcheong* in the area of Suyeong of Busan Metropolitan City during the Joseon Period.

The basin in this area is fertile land good for farming, where the Suyeonggang River and the sea meet, offering an abundant supply of fish. From the early days, the residents engaged in agriculture on rich soil, and caught fish, including anchovies, cutlassfish, and mackerel. The residents established an organization called *nongcheong* for collective farming in order to increase the efficiency of farming across the vast land along the Suyeonggang River. *Nongcheong* was what a *dure* (farmers' cooperative group) eventually evolved into in the past. At the center of a village, there was a building for the administration of the *nongcheong*, which also stored the necessary farming equipment. The workers of the *nongcheong* consisted of people able to perform labor, as well as a manager to lead them. The person in charge was called the *haengsu*, while the person assisting the *haengsu* was referred to as the *dogam*. Below them were *suchonggaks*,



Dorikkae Tajak Sori



Sossaum Nori

Suyeong Nongcheong Nori | Jung-gu, Busan | National Folk Museum of Korea

who delivered the orders and directed farming tasks, as well as a clerk that was in charge of keeping important records.

Suyeong is an enormous area where one *nongcheong* was not enough in managing all the works, spurring on the creation of two *nongcheongs*: one in the south and another in the north. Farming tasks were mainly done by men, with help from women and children during rice planting. The meeting for organizing women's activities was called *naebangcheong*, while the meeting for overseeing children was referred to as *mogicheong*. All farming tasks, from beginning to end, were carried out as a group effort, according to a specific signal generated by a bugle through a hollowed out royal foxglove tree. The bugle was called a *yeonggak*, or *ttaengbal*, while the person sounding the bugle was referred to as the *yeonggaksu*.

Members of the *nongcheong* loosely followed the orders given by the leaders during the work. The most important and urgent tasks in farming are rice-planting, barley threshing, and harvesting. The prioritizing of paddies to attend to was determined by speed and convention. However, since it is also a decision made among the people, the farmlands of more prominent figures were prioritized. Members of the *nongcheong* were also mobilized for community works beyond farming, such as mowing and fixing roads. During these kinds of jobs, exciting songs were played by the farmers to reduce the boredom and increase the efficiency of the work. Also, due to the strict rules, members would not dare to think about performing out of line from the rest of the group. Those who broke the rules and conducted personal matters, or remained idle, were punished according to the rules of the sanctions made by the *nongcheong*. Since Suyeong is a farming and fishing village that exists within a metropolis, the *nongcheong* lasted until the early 1960s. As a result, the *nongyo*s that were sung during farming, as well as some of the farming equipment and clothing, are well preserved. Accordingly, there were no significant difficulties in the restoration and reenactment of Suyeong Nongcheong Nori.

Suyeong Nongcheong Nori consists of the following eight *madangs*, or chapters: *Pulbegi Sori*, sung while weeding to create the fertilizer necessary for farming; *Garae Sori*, sung while breaking the ground, even while using spades for rice-planting; *Mojjigi Sori*, sung while taking rice seedlings from a seedbed; *Mosimgi Sori* and *Nonmaegi Sori*, sung while rice-planting and weeding paddies; and *Dorikkaetajak Sori*, sung while barley threshing using flails. During the spare time after a weeding, bull fighting would occasionally take place, and people often drank *nongju* (farmer's wine) and sang *Chingching Sori*. Most non-

gyos of the *nongcheong* have a 4/4 syllabic meter with a slow rhythm called the *Menarijo*, which expresses the hardships of farming, alongside the joys and sorrows of life.

Ttakjichigi

떡지치기

A game hitting opponents' *ttakji* on the ground and taking it when flipped over

A game taking each other's *ttakji* made of paper by hitting and flipping them over on the ground.

Ttakjis (flat and square game pieces) were mostly made with many types of paper, including old book covers, notes, calendars, cement bags, or animal feed bags. The shapes were square or rectangular, and the sizes varied upon the individual making it. *Ttakjis* made of big and thick paper were called *wangttakji* (a giant *ttakji*) and considered more valuable in game play. There were a number of unique ways to play Ttakjichigi in each region as described below:

- ① *Neomgyeomeokgi* (Flipping): Players decide the order to play with a round *Garwi Bawi Bo*. The losers place their *ttakji* on the ground, while the winner tries to get them to flip over by hitting them. The player that flips over the other players' *ttakji* takes it.
- ② *Nallyeomeokgi* (Throwing): Players hold and throw a *ttakji* with one hand, and the one to throw it the farthest takes the other players' *ttakji*. Another way to play this version is by drawing a line on the ground and throwing a *ttakji* to fall precisely on it to take the other players' *ttakji*.
- ③ *Byeokchigi* (Hitting a Wall): Players strike *ttakji* on a wall and the one whose *ttakji* bounces back the farthest takes the other players' *ttakji*.
- ④ *Mireonaegi* (Pushing out): Players draw a circle on the ground and place a *ttakji* inside it. They can place one *ttakji* per each player, or set a higher amount to place per player before starting the game. Players win the other players' *ttakji* by

striking down other players' *ttakji* and pushing them out of the circle. Players striking down their *ttakji* and leaving them in the circle by mistake lose them as well.

Besides the square *ttakji* made by children themselves, round *ttakji* sold at stationery stores were quite popular as well. To win or lose a round *ttakji* felt even more significant because children had to pay for them. Popular cartoon characters of the times were drawn on most of the round *ttakji*. The round ones were loved nationwide from the 1970s to 1990s, before declining in popularity as children did not value *ttakjis* anymore. The small and lightweight properties of the round *ttakjis* often led to children applying different playstyles with them, like hitting and flipping over square *ttakjis*.

Ttakjichigi was mostly played by boys in yards or empty lots, by two or more people. The shapes of *ttakjis* varied between either a square, triangular, or circle. Today, the game is not played anymore due to the decrease of value in paper, and without that value, children no longer would treat them with care. Instead, metal or plastic *ttakjis* are popular among today's children. This new form of *ttakji* cannot be made by children themselves, however, and can only be bought. Children, therefore, become more aware of its monetary value, leading their thinking twice about the commercial and speculative side of things.



Ttakjichigi | Lee Eok-yeong | National Folk Museum of Korea



Ttakjichigi | 1980s | National Folk Museum of Korea

Children in Southeast Asian countries, such as Nepal and India, also play with round *ttakji* in a way that is similar to the Korean version.

Ttangjaemeokgi

땅재먹기

A game occupying the largest territories within a game board drawn in the dirt

A game expanding territories within the boundary of a square or a round game board drawn on a flat area of dirt.

Ttangjaemeokgi was also called *ttangppaetgi*, *ttangttagi*, or *ttangttameokgi*. The game was played by three or four children on flat ground. Since the game required minimum tools with minimal rules, Ttangjaemeokgi was played nationwide under almost the same rules in every region.

First, players draw a large square or circle game board on an area of ground that is both flat and soft, and is typically played by three or four people. For example, if four players drew a square board, each player would start from each corner. Players draw their houses at the starting points by putting their thumbs at the corners and drawing sectors with index or middle fingers. They try to stretch the finger as wide as they can to draw large houses. Once the first houses are drawn, players keep playing *Gawi Barwi Bo* and the winners keep drawing other houses to enlarge their territories. Only one last winner or two winners of *Gawi Barwi Bo* can draw the houses, according to the predetermined rules prior to playing the game.

Ttangjaemeokgi is a game where only the winners of *Gawi Barwi Bo* keep expanding their territories, while there is also a slightly more difficult version called *Ttangttameokgi*, as well. Players of *Ttangttameokgi* also draw a game board and expand their territories from each house, but the method of expansion is different. This game uses game pieces to play called *mal* (also called *mang*), which are made of finely ground, flat and round stones or broken pieces

of chinaware. First, players determine the playing order before each player flicks his or her *mal* three times using the thumb and index finger. A *mal* needs to return to the house it departed from within the three flicks. Upon failure to do, the next sequential player take his or her turn. However, upon success, the area within the path of a *mal* moved becomes the player's territory. If a *mal* cannot return to its house or exceeds the boundaries of the board due to excessive force, the player cannot expand the territory. Players draw a line following the path of the *mal* once flicked. If a *mal* returns to its house within three flicks, the lines become a new boundary and the player erases the previous lines within the territory. The game ends when there is no space to claim as territory.

Ttangaemeokgi was played by children of all ages who could play *Gawi Bawi Bo*, yet was typically enjoyed by children aged ten or over due to precise control required for the flicking. There were more complicated rules for *Ttangtameokgi*, including taking over other players' territories.

Tuho

투호

A game throwing as many arrows as possible into a bottle or a pot to decide a winner

A game throwing as many red and blue arrows as possible into a bottle or a pot to decide a winner.

Tuho was a game mainly played by royal families or *yangban* (the gentry of the Joseon Period) households. It was an old folk game even mentioned in *Yegi* (a book of rituals). The game was widely played in China during the Tang Dynasty, while believed to have been played in Korea for a long time as well. According to a historical record written in 1116, during the reign of Yejong of the Goryeo Dynasty, the king ordered to publish a rulebook of Tuho with pictures to revive the game. The game was considered an old tradition in the period and the government made an attempt to restart it systemically using a rule book.

During the Joseon Period, Tuho was played mainly as the post event of a royal banquet or *Giroyeon* (a banquet honoring former government officials).

Tuho is a game that involves the throwing of arrows into a pot with holders that look like ears, commonly played on a lawn in the yard or at the main floor of the house. The players are divided into two teams, and throw the arrows about ten steps away from the pot. The team throwing in more arrows into the pot, or the ears of the pot, wins. Sometimes, a group of female dancers helped add excitement to the game. The arrows should drop from a point of more than 15 cm above the pot and land in the middle of the pot or the ears. The thrower should also maintain both shoulders at the same level. Winning a game of Tuho is called *Hyeon*, while losing a game is referred to as *Bulseung*. Alcoholic drinks were given to players as a reward or punishment, according to the scores. The hole of a pot is 15 cm, 12 cm, or 6 cm in diameter, and the ears come in various shapes and sizes as well. The arrows were in red and blue colors, while



Tuhodo | Genre painting of Kim Hong-do | Joseon | National Museum of Korea



the game was typically played by men, yet occasionally enjoyed by women of *yangban* who received little opportunity to get outside of their home.

During the Joseon Period, Tuho was mainly played in royal palaces by *yangban*. This resulted in players following predetermined manners in playing the game, hence commoners being unable to play it due to the difficulty in preparing game material and complying with the rules of game play. Today, as traditional games are being rediscovered, everyone is getting a chance to play Tuho easily at old palaces or at public holiday festivals and events. Every traditional game experience site in local museums, historical sites, or festivals features Tuho, as it is an iconic folk game of Korea, illustrated in both school textbooks and the 1,000 won bill.

Tuho
Joseon Period | National Folk Museum of Korea

Tujeon

투전

A game picking papers with patterns or characters

A game picking tiles with patterns or characters with the one picking the highest tile to decide the winner.

As a traditional indoor game for men, the players pick a piece of paper with patterns or characters, and the one picking the highest number is declared the winner. According to the literature of the Joseon Period, Tujeon was recorded in three different Chinese characters 鬪錢, 鬪牋, and 投牋, while also being referred to as *jipae* (paper game pieces) since it was made of paper. Tujeon is made by soaking a thick piece of paper in oil. It is 10 to 20 cm long with the width of a finger. On one face of the paper, a number of animal figures and characters were drawn to mark the number of pips. A pack can have 25, 40, 50, 60, or 80 pieces of paper, with a pack of 40 pieces being the most common.

At first, Tujeon was not a gambling game. Meanwhile, *Sutujeon* was an ele-



Tojyeonheogo | Gisanpungsokdo | Korean Christian Museum at Soongsil University

gant game enjoyed by the *yangban* (the gentry of the Joseon Period). The game, itself, was more about winning than about gaining money. *Sutujeon* used *bonpae* (the main cards) and *Jangsupae* (general cards) with various animal figures on them and followed some rules to decide the winner. However, the entertaining element of *Sutujeon* disappeared, and it re-emerged as a form of gambling. With the development of a gambling version of Tujeon, some people ended up having to sell off their houses, land, and property to play the game during the Joseon Period. Moreover, Tujeon players would form professional gambling groups. The popularity of Tujeon was due to the creation and circulation of currency. In the genre paintings of the late Joseon Period, bunches of coins can often be seen in Tujeon. Since 1678 (the 4th year of King Sukjong), local minting offices were allowed to make coins, facilitating a large amount of coins being circulated around the country. The development of the monetary economy



Tujeon game pieces |
Joseon Period |
National Folk Museum of Korea





Tujeondo | National Folk Museum of Korea

propelled the game's use as a form of gambling. Coins also played a role as a strong stimulus and means of excitement in Tujeon, as they could be traded more conveniently in comparison to bartering. The development of commercial activities and marketplaces also precipitated the propagation of Tujeon. Professional gambling was often performed in Seoul with its dense population, local marketplaces, and *gibangs*. Compassionate and sustainable relationships among village people soon disappeared in these places, while during the course of gambling, people were obsessed with money alone and did not care to cultivate affectionate relationships with others. Speculative Tujeon games were regarded as a shortcut to lose everything, as can be seen in the old saying, "Worthless Tujeon took all my money!" Eventually, *Hwatu* emerged as a major game to replace Tujeon.

Turanhui

투란회

A game bumping two boiled eggs against each other with the team of cracked eggs losing

A folk game bumping two boiled eggs against each other to decide a winner played on the *Hansik* Holiday

The time of origin of Turanhui is unclear, however, there was a record about the game in a Chinese book called *Hyeongchosesigi*, written in the early 7th century. It reads, “The game using boiled eggs is played for three days around *Hansik*.” This points to the belief that the game originated from China. There is no record remaining about the specific method of game play. Most of the games were played by children under the rule where bumping two boiled eggs against each other until the first egg that cracks is declared the loser. Skilled children used the pointy part of an egg to crack the wide part of the opponent’s egg. This kind of traditional game has been played in the Northern region of China up until the modern day.

Hansik was originally one of the four major seasonal events during the Jo-seon Period, and was held for three days. Turanhui could also have been a major game with a meaning. *Hansik* was the time to have a ritual to put out an old fire in order to light a new one, in addition to serving as the period to prepare for a new year’s worth of farming. Turanhui could have therefore been more than a simple game of cracking boiled eggs, indicating its significance as part of the celebration for the beginning of a new subdivision of a season and a way to wish for rich harvest.

Yeongdeok Worworicheongcheong

영덕 월월이청청

A circle dance

A custom featuring collective singing and dancing of young women on holidays related to the full moon, including *Daeboreum* and *Hangawi*.

Worwori-cheongcheong is an umbrella word referring to a series of games, as well as the name of a custom based on a circle dance. Its origin and time of inception are unknown, yet a few theories exist among the people. The first theory regards the meaning of *worwori-cheongcheong* as “Beware of *Cheongjeong* (Korean pronunciation of the Japanese name Kiyomasa written in Chinese letters)! He has come!” During the Japanese Invasion of Korea in 1592, Kato Kiyomasa was a senior commander of the Japanese armies invading Joseon. In response, women danced and sang to warn of the invasion, which is the origin of Yeongdeok Worwori-cheongcheong, according to the first theory. Another theory suggests that *worwori-cheongcheong* means “clear and bright moon,” as the custom involves songs and dances during nights with a clear and bright moon.

Yeongdeok Worwori-cheongcheong was mainly performed by unmarried women in their late teens and, occasionally, new brides in their early 20s, depending on the village. In some cases, early teens formed a group of their own, although this was not common. Instead, they usually followed and watched the performances of their sisters or aunts. One group generally had 10 to 20 people, or 30 at maximum. In a group, typically one person who was good at singing *apsori* (lines sung by a lead singer) played the role as leader of the performance, guiding the group. Yeongdeok Worwori-cheongcheong was mainly performed on the night of *Jeongwol Daeboreum* (the 15th of the first lunar month) and *Chuseok* (*Hangawi*, August 15th of the lunar calendar) when the moon is at its brightest. Among the two, *Jeongwol Daeboreum* was the most popular day for Yeongdeok Worwori-cheongcheong. The venue for the custom was normally a house of a participant with a large yard. As circumstances required, a vacant lot or a sandy beach of a village was used, but this was not universal.



Wonmu



Jaebapgi

Yeongdeok Worworicheongcheong | Yeongdeok, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province | National Folk Museum of Korea

Yeongdeok Worwori-cheongcheong carried a social significance as a venue for young women to enjoy the excitement and sociality at an extraordinary time and place during the holidays. Also, it holds the shamanic and religious characteristic of wishing for the prosperity and fecundity of a community, considering it was performed in connection with the moon. Typically, the moon was regarded as a symbol of prosperity and regeneration in connection with the night, women, the earth, and snakes (dragons). Yeongdeok Worwori-cheongcheong typically involved young women with flourishing reproductive capacity stomping on the earth, while embodying the shape of the full moon (*worwori-cheongcheong*) as well as the waning and waxing of the moon (*dalleomse*). Furthermore, they would create formations mimicking a snake coiling and uncoiling (*silkkurigamgi* and *pulgi*). All of these demonstrate the custom's purpose, to wish for the prosperity and fecundity of a community by offering and expressing various symbolic figures.

Yeongsan Juldarigi

영산 줄다리기

A game of tug-of-war in Yeongsan-myeon of Changnyeong-gun,
Gyeongsangnam-do Province

A game consisting of *Juldarigi* in Yeongsan-myeon of Changnyeong-gun, Gyeongsangnam-do Province, played on *Jeongwol Daeboreum*.

Yeongsan Juldarigi is played by two teams divided into the east team and the west team, according to the residential areas. The division starts from dividing the four villages within the town of the old boundary of Yeongsan County into east and west sides. In Yeongsan, Seongnae-ri and Gyo-ri within the town wall were considered the east side, and Seo-ri and Dong-ri, the outside of the wall were considered the west side. The division was applied not only to the four villages, but also to the entire Yeongsan County in the past. Currently, the divi-



sion is applied to the whole Changnyeong-gun, granting the sense of belonging to every participant of Yeongsan Juldarigi.

Yeongsan Juldarigi displays characteristics of traditional *Juldarigi*. At the beginning of the Lunar New Year, children play *Juldarigi* in the alleyways using a thin rope, as thick as their wrists. As time goes by, the number and age of the participants grow both larger and older, while the size of the rope becomes thicker and thicker by the time *Jeongwol Daeboreum* arrives. Around this time, the adults of the east and west sides pay attention to the *Juldarigi* and play it together. The *golmokjul* (alleyway rope) grows larger by the participation of adults, and is also referred to as *jungjul* (medium-sized ropes). When using the *golmokjul*, the leaders of both teams ride on the ropes, while the rest of the members carry them on their shoulders and march around the alleyways. Once both teams meet, a battle between the leaders ensues to take down the opponents from the ropes, which is called *Yi* Battle. *Yi* refers to a Chinese letter meaning baby dragon, denoting a battle between dragons. Today, *golmokjul* is played in the afternoon of March 1st, during the March 1st Folk Culture Festival at *Hangolmok* (Han Alleyway) just as in the old days. The players are young adults in the region, under the supervision of the Yeongsan Juldarigi Preservation Society.

Meanwhile, unlike the annual *golmokjul*, the *keun jul* (large rope) was played in a special occasion only, under the right conditions and agreement among residents. *Golmokjul* was one of the triggers of playing *keun jul*. Once the atmosphere was set among people while playing *golmokjul*, the leaders of both sides suggested, “Why don’t you engage in a battle of *keun jul* this year,” and the preparation would begin upon the agreement between both sides.

When the two sides decide to play *keun jul*, each side selects a well-respected person as the general, before granting that person festive authority during the game. The generals are given uniforms and general’s flags are placed before their houses.

Various flags and village folk bands, along with the *seonangdaes* would follow the generals everywhere.

In the past, the straw to make the large rope was donated voluntarily by every household of both teams. When enough straw was gathered, participants made a wooden structure, called *jaksubari*, and began rope making. *Yeongsanjul* (Yeongsan rope) is made with dozens of *gadajul* (small ropes), and the scale of *Yeongsanjul* is decided by the total number and length of *gadajuls*. Until

the 1930s, a *Yeongsanjul* was made with 100 *gadakjuls*, each 300 m in length. However, since the revival of the game in 1963, the rope was made with 30 *gadakjuls*, each 100 m in length. Currently, the rope is made with 40 *gadakjuls*, each 100 m in length. Besides straw, hundreds of straw ropes and numerous straw bags are needed to make a *Yeongsanjul*. The straw ropes are attached to the *momjul* (main rope) as *jeotjul* (side ropes attached to the *momjul* resemble legs of a centipede), and the straw bags are used to strengthen the rope head.

Upon completion of the rope making, the head of a rope is raised high by a long log. The rope is guarded with *seonangdaes* and *yeonggis* (leading flags of village folk bands) in order to protect it from women touching it or sabotage by the opposing team.

Around the time of the actual *Juldarigi* both teams prepare ritual tables before the ropes and perform *Julgosa* (the rite of rope). Then, both teams move the ropes to the grounds for the game. Both processions are led by *seonangdaes*, the poles representing each team, and other flags, followed by village folk bands and the rest of villagers holding small *yeonggis*.

The grounds of the game were primarily a newly-made street, which was built during the Japanese Occupation, or a wide field in front of *Yeonji* (Yeon Lake). However, the grounds were relocated to Yeongsan Middle School and Yeongsan Elementary School due to the original locations now being raised as onion fields. Later on, a dedicated *Juldarigi* field was built near the Yeongsan area in 1990, and the game has been played at the field ever since.

Upon arrival, both teams connect the male and female ropes. Each rope represents female and male, hinting at the sexual nature between man and woman. Both teams connect the ropes, exchanging unpleasant words, asking for the connection. However, neither teams start the process easily, as both teams express their pride as a man and a woman, and it takes quite a while to stick the head of the male rope into the head of the female rope, and fix the connected point with a *binyeomok* (a fixing log).

After the connection, participants start pulling after a signal of *jing* (a gong). The generals of both teams on the ropes encourage their team members while waving swords. Folk bands raise the morale of their teams by playing fast melodies. Even the spectators, watching the game with their arms crossed at first, join the game at the height of the battle driven by excitement.

When a winning team is decided after the whole process, the participants start to get busy cutting off a part of the ropes. Those with sickles or knives rush in to cut off the head or neck of the winning team's rope, or at least a part

of its body or handles. The people managing to cut off a bundle of the rope laugh heartily, hanging the piece around their neck or holding it in their hands. The residents believe that the rope protects a household from misfortune when it is put on the roof, granting the safe birth of a boy if consumed by a pregnant woman, bringing about a rich harvest if placed in farming fields or paddies, and ensuring a cow's healthy growth if fed to the cow.

Yeongsan Soemeoridaegi

영산 쇠머리대기

A game bumping wooden cow heads in Yeongsan-myeon of Changnyeong-gun,
Gyeongsangnam-do Province

A game bumping wooden cow heads on *Jeongwol Daeboreum* in Yeongsan-myeon of Changnyeong-gun, Gyeongsangnam-do Province.

Yeongsan Soemeoridaegi was performed on *Jeongwol Daeboreum* (first full moon of the lunar calendar) at Yeongsan and was discontinued in the 1930s. The game was then revived in 1965 and designated as Intangible Cultural Property No. 25 in 1969.

Yeongsan Soemeoridaegi was conducted on *Jeongwol Daeboreum* in celebration of the Lunar New Year. As other traditional team games, it was performed in units based on either a county or village. As a preliminary event prior to main event geared toward adults, *Jageun* (or *Aegi* [baby]) *Soemeoridaegi* was enjoyed by the youth in the opening ceremony.

More recently, Yeongsan Soemeoridaegi is performed as a part of folk festivals in commemoration of the March 1st Independence Movement of Korea. Teams are formed based on where participants live, whether it be in the east or in the west. The four villages in Yeongsan (Seongnae-ri, Gyo-ri, Seo-ri, and Dong-ri) are divided into the east and the west. Conventionally, two villages (Seongnae-ri and Gyo-ri) within the town walls belonged to the east, while the

other two (Seo-ri and Dong-ri) outside of the town walls belonged to the west. This criterion was applied not only to these four villages, but also to the all villages in Yeongsan, as well, and now is expanded into the entirety of Changnyeong.

For the game, three respectable and well-off people were selected as the *daejang* (general), *jungjang* (lieutenant general), and *sojang* (major general) for each team and were entitled to the managing authorities of the festival. A flag was then posted in front of generals' houses, and a series of flag holders, along with a farmers' band, would accompany the generals into battle. In the field where the game was to be played, participants followed the orders of their generals and prepared for the coming battle.

Yeongsan Soemeoridaegi is now performed at around 2 pm on March 1st, which falls on the festival period commemorating the day's Independence Movement of Korea. The cow heads used for the game are made of pine and oak trees. Pine trees are now used to make the cow head, the cow body, and the auxiliary support, while oak trees are used to create the major support.

On the morning of conducting the game, generals, farmers' bands and residents march through the town of Yeongsan to encourage more participants. They would then proceed to the place where wooden cows are prepared to engage the opponent. The east team gathers in the empty town marketplace, while the western team assembles around the Mannyeonggyo Bridge. Each team entertains themselves before their wooden cows by playing traditional percussions and wind instruments and flying their flags. Then they have a ritual in front of the wooden cow to wish for their welfare in the upcoming year, as well as their safety and victory.

After the ritual, generals ride their wooden cow and parade toward the battlegrounds. People in accompaniment carry *seonangdae* (small poles) with *yeonggi* (leading flags of village folk bands) while dancing and shouting to the music played by the farmers' band until the destination is reached. Once both teams arrive at the ground, they enjoy preliminary games called *Jinjabi* and *Seonangdaessaum* as preliminary events. *Jinjabi* is a unique game that cannot be seen in other regions. In its original form, the leader makes breaks through the enemy camp riding a large horse. Due to concerns over dangerous aspects of the game, however, horses were replaced with cows, and now the game is much more scaled down.

The origin of *Jinjabi* is related to the *Munbojanggut* exorcism passed down also to Yeongsan. The exorcism was performed during the first six days of the



Soemeori Gosa



Soemeori Geodori

Yeongsan Soemeoridaegi | Changnyeong, Gyeongsangnam-do Province

fifth month of the lunar calendar based on the *Munhojang* Myth. The primary aspect of the *Munhojanggut* was “parading 14 rounds” on the 5th day of the fifth month, the day of *Dano*. In the event, three people called *Hojang*, *Suro*, and *Ammui*, ride horses as they parade through the 1 km long road from *Jisegol* to *Durunggaksiwangsindang*, the most bustling streets of Yeongsan. On the way, the audience whips the horses to run wild. Three horse riders dance with their arms wide open and the audience roars with joy at the acrobatic display of the riders. The “parading 14 rounds” in *Munhojanggut* and *Jinjabi* are somewhat similar in that the audience is kept in the way of three riders forced to struggle their way forward, but it is difficult to understand their exact relation.

Jinjabi was followed by *Seonangdaessaum*. The poles are pushed or hit against each other to fall down or break the enemy’s pole apart to win the battle. As participants of the *Seonangdaessaum* always carry the *seonangdae* wherever they go between the 15th of the last month and the 15th of the first month of the lunar calendar, there are a few chances to run into the *seonangdaes* of other villages. When they bump into each other, each team claims their *seonangdae* deities to be stronger and have miraculous power while urging its counterpart to bow their heads to show respect. If such an act is not agreed upon, they immediately wage battle. This indicates that the *Seonangdaessaum* was a war game between villages that struggled for a higher position by way of their *seonangdae* deities. *Seonangdaessaum* is performed prior to Soemeoridaegi, while the two games share the same context that *seonangdae*’s symbolizing the east and the west fought a battle to exhibit their power and get a head start.

Once the preliminary games were finished, Soemeoridaegi followed. However, prior to conducting the major battle, the two teams displayed a grand parade in the field to boast of their power. The farmers’ band then took the lead to invoke greater excitement among the crowd. Following the band, residents held diverse flags, as well as *yeonggi* while dancing and shouting with joy, and generals sitting on wooden cows danced with swords behind them. When two teams ran across along their parades and *yeonggi* holders could not resist their desire to test their power, they entered into a battle by delivering blows with their poles against each other. This often led to scuffles, however such practices are almost no longer in existence.

Once the battle began, two teams pushed their wooden cows against each other to decide the winner. Participants supported to push their team’s wooden cow and roared to lift it higher than the opponent’s, to the point where the voices of generals were often buried in the noise and could not be heard. After

several times of pushing, surrounded by the jolting sound of people’s roars, the winner was decided as the one able to knock over the other team’s wooden cow.

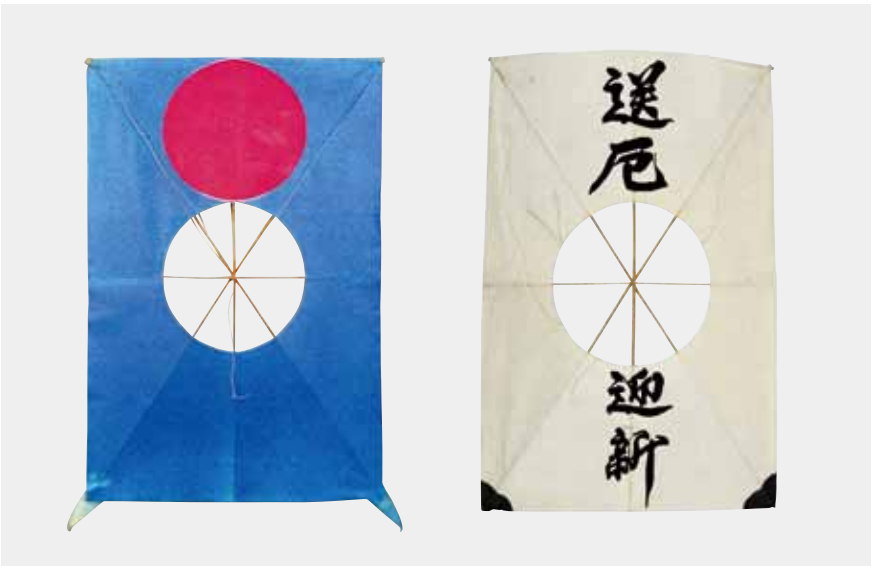
Yeonalligi

연날리기

A custom flying kites in the sky

A custom flying kites in the sky with kites that are created by attaching a bamboo frame to a sheet of paper while typically seen during the winter season, played between the beginning of the year and *Daeboreum*.

There are about 100 kinds of kites with each type classified according to the characteristic shape and design. The *bangpaeyeon* (shield shaped), *gaoriyeon* (stingray shaped), and *changjagyeon* (triangle shaped with a tail) comprise the



A bangpae kite | Following liberation from Japan | National Folk Museum of Korea

shape-based categories. The kites are then completed with coloring or colored paper and given a certain name. There are various types of *bangpaeyeon*, including paintings, colored paper, colors, or tails and feet. *Bangpaeyeons* are divided into several subtypes that distinguished between decoration, color, and affixation. Moreover, the size of the kite differs depending on the customs and the wind power in a given region. Windy provinces, such as the seaside and plain regions, create bigger kites while mountainous, inland places with light winds fashion smaller kites.

Yeonssaum (kite battle) has two levels of competition: cutting the line and flying the kite as high as possible. The way of cutting varies from region to region. In Bukcheong of Hamgyeongnam-do Province, mugwort and charcoal are ground and rolled into a piece of paper to become about 20cm in length. After being attached to a kite and lit, the flame being released spreads like a firework blast if the line of the kite is released and pulled. If all the fuel burns, the line breaks, and the kite flies off into the distance. In Jeollanam-do Province, coins are attached to the bridles of an *aengmagiyeon* (a kite for casting out evil spirits) as a traveling expense. Also, a thumbnail-sized cotton (cocoon floss) is added below the coins and lit, while the finely ground charcoal powder is rolled into a piece of *hanji* (a traditional Korean paper handmade from mulberry trees) to be hung below the bridles and lit, similar to the tradition of Hamgyeong-do Province. The lines of the kite will be naturally cut off as the cocoon floss or charcoal power burns out. However, if an *aengmagiyeon* falls down to the ground, no one should pick it up.



A kite reel | Following liberation from Japan | National Folk Museum of Korea

The custom of actively wishing for good luck by Yeonnalligi, or kite flying, is clearly evident in China and Japan, while not so much in Korea. Still, the Chinese character meaning luck or good fortune, 福, a pair of mandarin ducks, or a bat are drawn on kites from time to time, where a pair of mandarin ducks represents the deep affection of a couple while a bat symbolizes good fortune.

Yeotchigi

옛치기

A game snapping a Korean hard taffy where a player who has bigger or more holes in the cross section than the opponent's is the winner

A game snapping *garaeyeot* to see who has larger or more holes in the cross-section than the opponents to decide the winner.

Yeotchigi is usually played in the autumn or winter, particularly when *yeot* (Korean hard taffy) can be strictly hardened, although it can be enjoyed during all seasons. The play methods are virtually similar across the country with slight differences depending on the region. Typically, more than two people break sticks of *yeot* to compare the size or the number of holes in the cross section. Comparing the size of holes is more common than comparing the number of holes. In the former case, the one who has *yeot* with the biggest hole wins. Furthermore, there is another rule in Yeotchigi that is rarely applied and states that players must hold their stick of *yeot* by its end and bump them into each other in a way where the two sticks in contact create an X shape. The player with unbroken *yeot* is declared the winner.

To play Yeotchigi, each player, from a plate of *yeot*, chooses one stick of *yeot* that seems to have the biggest or the most holes and breaks it. There are two ways to break it: one is to snap the pieces themselves into two smaller pieces, while another is to hit the corner of the plate with *yeot* to break it. Those who regularly enjoyed the game tend to gain the know-how of singling out *yeot*

with bigger or several holes. It is told that the larger holes, or a larger amount of holes, can be found in *yeot* with distinct lines at the side, *yeot* with a body having an agglomeration, or light *yeot* with a rough, rather than a smooth surface. During the breaking of *yeot*, players would often blow the cross section to make the holes bigger. In Yeotchigi, the player holding *yeot* with smaller holes or *yeot* without holes paid for both the player and the winner, or the player giving the *yeot* of the player to the winner. Whenever there are more than three players, they continue to compete, except for the winner, until there is only one player left. In that case, the last player would pay for everyone, which was called *ttolttolmal*.

Yeotchigi was played particularly when the sellers of *yeot* still used to sell it by carrying around a plate of *yeot*. A seller would arrive somewhere, under a shaded tree or in an alley. Afterward, the seller would open and close huge scissors to make a noise and then shout out, "Come and get your *yeot*! We offer glutinous rice *yeot* and pumpkin *yeot*. And they're so delicious that you won't be able to contain yourself!" Children would then rush to the seller with their pocket money, tradable items, or old possessions, including rice, old rubber shoes, cracked brassware, broken tobacco pipes, nickel silverware with holes, or black rubber bands. If there was nothing that could be offered, children played Yeotchigi to make each other pay. In the 1940s, one stick of *yeot* cost one *jeon*. Considering that the price of one *doe* (1.8 liter) of rice was 15 *jeons*, *yeot* was quite expensive at the time. Then again, it is very rare to see children playing it today since the selling of *yeot* is not as common.

Yeotchigi used to be a nation-wide game. It was played by people of all ages with one simple rule: break a stick of *yeot* and determine a winner based on the size or the number of holes. Yeotchigi is more like a game, yet can also function as a tool for determining one's fortune for the day - the bigger the hole, the luckier the day. This function was particularly emphasized during bountiful holidays such as *Jeongwol Daeboreum*. In addition, the chanting and scissoring techniques of sellers ambulating around an alleyway provided good entertainment. Currently, *yeot* sellers have nearly disappeared and buyers rarely play Yeotchigi, however, it is certainly one of the folk customs that embodies the taste and adventure of Korea.

Yut Nori

윷놀이

A board game using *yut*

A game using wooden sticks called *yut* to compete from the 1st to 15th day of the lunar calendar.

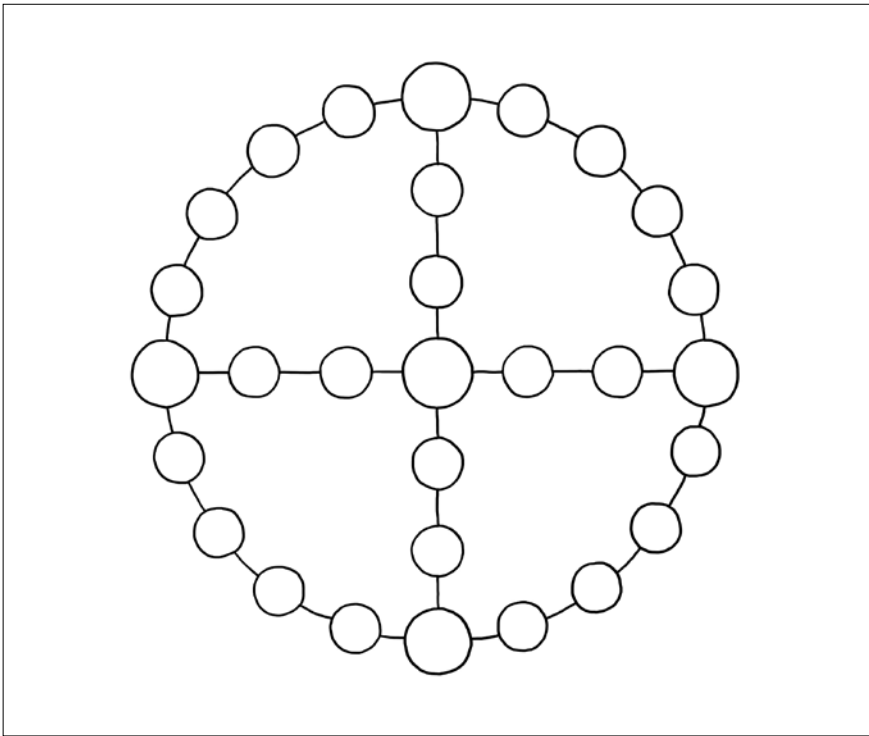
Yut Nori is a game where four pieces of one team move on a board with 29 dots, having thrown four *yut* (sticks made of wood used as the dice) to be the first to escape from the board. The combination of the four *yut* sticks, whether they are facing up or down after a throw, determines *sawi* (how many spaces the pieces can be moved). When three *yut* sticks land right side up and one lands upside down, it is called *do*, and a piece can move one space. Two *yut* sticks landing upside down while the other two land right side up is called *gae*, which allows a piece to move two spaces. One *yut* stick landing right side up



Yutduineun Moyang | Gisanpungsokdo (Replica) | National Folk Museum of Korea

while three land upside down is called *geol*, and a piece can move three spaces. If all *yut* sticks land upside down, it is called *yut* and a piece can move four spaces. Lastly, all *yut* sticks landing right side up is called *mo*, allowing a piece to move five spaces. Both *yut* and *mo* are referred to as *sari*, rewarding an extra turn. Pieces can be moved separately or together, and the team that is the first to escape from the board wins.

Each *sawi* is interpreted in connection with an animal. *Do* means pig; *gae*, dog; *geol*, goat (sacred horse, or elephant); *yut*, cow; and *mo*, horse. Most researchers agree on the interpretation of *do*, *gae*, *yut*, and *mo*, while there are various interpretations of *geol*.



A Yut Nori game board

APPENDIX

1.

Featured Photos



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Baduk 036p.
Japanese Occupation | National Folk Museum of Korea



Baekjung Nori 039p.
Gilgut | Goyang, Gyeonggi-do Province | 2006 |
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Baet Nori on the Taedong River | Japanese occupation |
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Stepping-stone crossing | Gangdong-gu, Seoul | 2015 |
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Jangnye Nori 047p.
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Taeon, Chungcheongnam-do Province | National Folk Museum of Korea



Byeokgolje Ssangnyong Nori 055p.

Gimje, Jeollabuk-do Province | KOIS



Dari Segi Nori 062p.

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Geobuk Nori 088p.
A turtle of Pyeongtaek Geobuk Nori | Pyeongtaek, Gyeonggi-do Province | 2014 | Kim Jong-dae



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Juldarigi | Dangjin, Chungcheongnam-do Province | 2015 | National Folk Museum of Korea



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Jukbangulbatki | Gyeongnam Jinju Sotdaejaengi Nori Preservation Society | 2014 | Han Nam-su



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Gulleongsoe Gulligi Nori during the opening ceremony of the 1988 Summer Olympics | 1988 | National Archives of Korea



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Andong Hahoe Folk Village, Andong, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province | National Folk Museum of Korea



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Yeongyang Wonnoreum (Songsa Madang) | Andong, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province | 2015 | National Folk Museum of Korea



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Sari Sori | Suyeong-gu, Busan | 2015 | National Folk Museum of Korea



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Seonyu Julbul Nori | Andong, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province | 2015 | Son Jeong-su



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Saja and Yangban characters of Bukcheong Saja Nori | Japanese Occupation |
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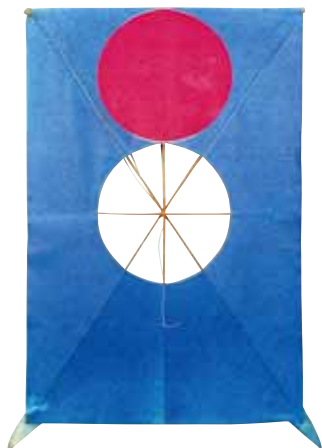
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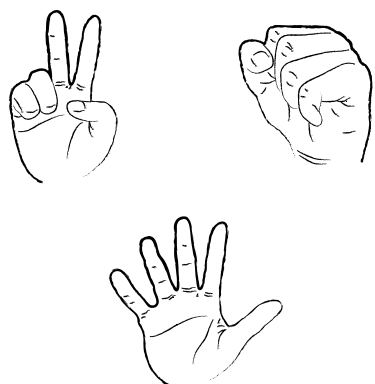
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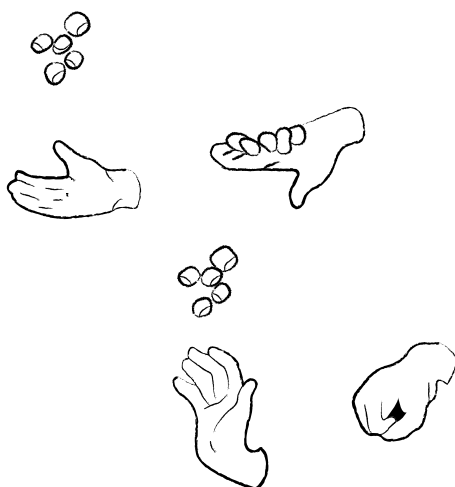
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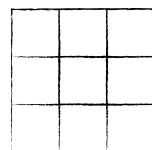
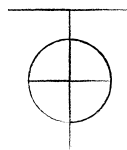
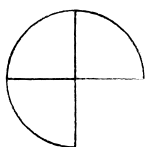
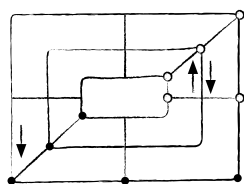
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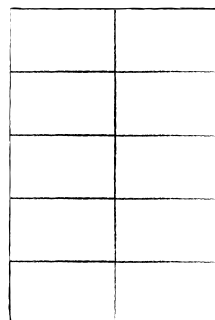
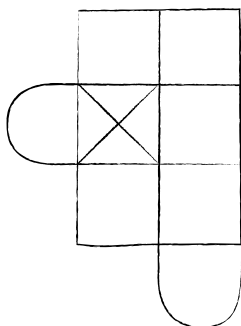
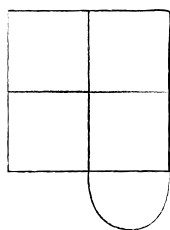
Hands in the shape of "Gawi, bawi, bo" image 086p.



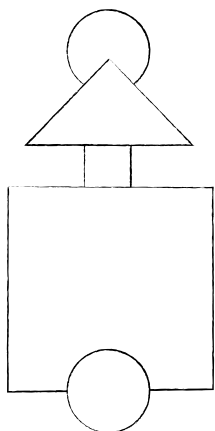
Snapping the wrist 115p.



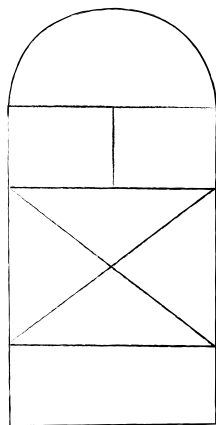
Types of Gonu 124p.



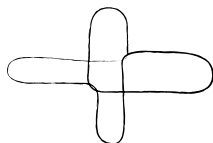
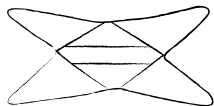
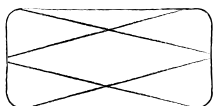
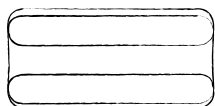
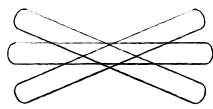
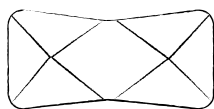
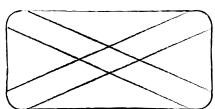
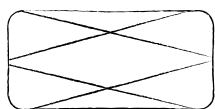
A Mang Chagi Nori game board 198p.



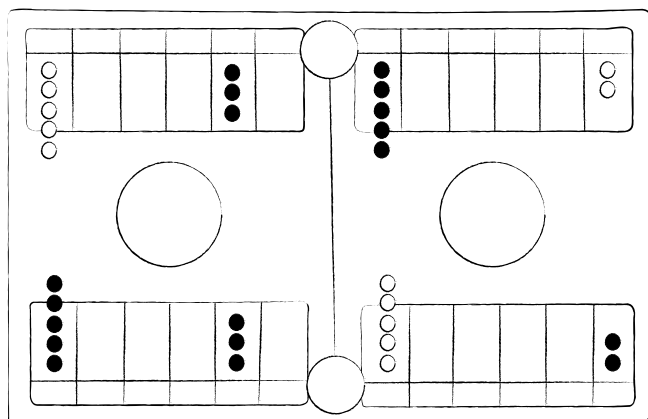
A Ojingeo Nori game board 223p.



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A Ssangnyuk game board 281p.

APPENDIX

Romanization Guide

1. Romanization of Korean vowels

Simple vowels										
ㅏ	ㅑ	ㅓ	ㅕ	ㅡ	ㅣ	ㅗ	ㅛ	ㅜ	ㅠ	ㅡㅣ
[a]	[eo]	[O]	[u]	[eu]	[i]	[ae]	[e]	[oe]	[w]	

Diphthongs										
ㅑ	ㅓ	ㅗㅜ	ㅕㅠ	ㅗㅓ	ㅛㅓ	ㅛㅜ	ㅛㅗ	ㅛㅑ	ㅛㅓ	ㅛㅑ
[ya]	[yeo]	[yo]	[yu]	[yea]	[ye]	[wa]	[wae]	[wo]	[we]	[ui]

2. Romanization of Korean consonants

Plosive consonants								
ㄱ	ㅋ	ㆁ	ㄷ	ㅌ	ㄴ	ㅍ	ㅂ	ㅍ
[g, k]	[kk]	[k]	[d, t]	[tt]	[t]	[b, p]	[pp]	[p]

Affricates		
ㄷㅌ	ㄱㅌ	ㄷㅌ
[j]	[jj]	[ch]

Fricatives		
ㅅ	ㅆ	ㅎ
[s]	[ss]	[h]

Nasals		
ㄴ	ㅁ	ㅇ
[n]	[m]	[ng]

Liquid
ㄹ
[r, l]

2.

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